

## Indiana in the Civil War.

When Fort Sumpter was fired on in 1861, Indiana was ready to offer her assistance to maintain the Union. As soon as President Lincoln's call was received, Governor Morton went to work to obtain volunteers. Men and boys from all professions, trades and occupations offered their services. Regiments were quickly formed and Indiana was among the first, if not the first, to report herself ready to send troops forward to the assistance of the government.

The numbers of the regiments began with six, because five regiments had enlisted for the Mexican War in 1846-7. The Sixth was organized and mustered in, April 25th 1861. It was commanded by Colonel Thomas T. Crittenden, and was sent at once to Virginia.

The State never failed to respond to the demands, and troops were sent forward up to the last. 151 regiments were enlisted, making a total of 208,367 soldiers, infantry, cavalry and artillery. These different commands saw service in nearly every department, in Virginia, on the south Atlantic coast, at Mobile, in Texas, Louisiana, Arkansas, at Shiloh, Vicksburg, Chattanooga, Atlanta, the March to the Sea, and wherever orders called for men. The private soldiers were the men who did the work and fought the battles. They are not forgotten.

Indiana also furnished some officers who rose to the rank of General, and reflected credit on the State. The leading ones were George Chapman, Benjamin Harrison, A.D. Streight, John Coburn, R. S. Foster, George F. McGinnis, Alvin D. Hovey, Robert H. Milroy, Willis A. Gorman, Lewis Wallace, John T. Wilder and Thomas A. Morris.

The Indiana troops did their duty wherever they were assigned. In certain battles, however, commanders and soldiers performed particular

service, as at Fort Donelson under Wallace, Champion Hills under Hovey and McGinnis, Gort Gregg (near Petersburg) under Foster, Peach Tree Creek (Atlanta) under Harrison, Chickamauga under Wilder. The reference here is to volunteer officers. There were Indiana officers in the regular army who did valiant service for the Union.

The first volunteers enlisted for three months. It was soon found that a long term would be necessary. Three years or for the war then became the common length of term except in emergency instances when enlistments were made for shorter periods, as one hundred days. It is worth noting and remembering that the people who stayed at home, in general, supported the Union and the troops in the field. There was some opposition, but Governor Morton's firm stand prevented the State from withdrawing its support to President Lincoln.

Camp Morton in Indianapolis was a common assembly ground for the troops before starting for the front. This became also a place of confinement for prisoners of war brought from the south. The losses suffered by the Indiana regiments were as follows: twenty four thousand and four hundred and sixteen. The battle flags of the different regiments are now preserved by the State and may be seen in the State House. The histories of the regiments have not all been written as they should be. Many of them have however, and they contain valuable records of the marches, camps, battles and imprisonment of the soldiers.

The reputation and standing of the State improved greatly in the estimation of the whole country because of the fact that her citizens responded promptly and energetically, and proved to be good soldiers. When the war was over they all returned to their vocations without any disturbance, and went quietly about their usual occupations. The Governor of the State at that time perhaps deserves the most credit for

what Indiana did, next to the actions of the soldiers themselves. He had the courage to face all the difficulties of the crisis without flinching. He stood by Abraham Lincoln, he maintained the credit of the State, he took care of the soldiers, he was ready in every emergency.

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\*Books thus starred are not allowed to be circulated because they cannot be replaced if lost.

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# INDIANA AND THE CIVIL WAR

INDIANA CIVIL WAR CENTENNIAL COMMISSION

Indianapolis

1961

# CIVIL WAR CENTENNIAL

By CARL A. ZENOR

*Chairman*

INDIANA CIVIL WAR  
CENTENNIAL COMMISSION

Teachers and pupils are invited to participate in the greatest commemoration this nation has ever known. One may participate passively by listening or reading, or he may take an active part in one or more of the many projects sponsored by the national, state, and local Civil War Centennial groups.

Emphasis should be placed in the classroom upon the fact that this is to be a commemoration and not a celebration. Four years of tragic Civil War with brother pitted against brother are nothing to celebrate.

We are commemorating the countless heroic acts of thousands of patriotic Americans who were fighting for a cause in which they believed.

We are commemorating the bond of unity which developed in the period following the war—a bond of unity which enabled the United States to assume the position of world leadership it holds today. It is hoped that such a commemoration will help each of us to understand better

Carl Zenor  
our country's history; to be more appreciative of the rich heritage transmitted to us by our forefathers, and enable us to say, along with an Indiana soldier of the Civil War, "I only hope that I may prove myself worthy of the title of citizenship in my glorious, united country."

The Indiana Civil War Centennial Commission is pleased to work with *The Indiana Teacher* in developing a series of stories on "Indiana and the Civil War Years." We hope that teachers will use these materials in the classroom, both in teaching and display work.



## INDIANA AND THE CIVIL WAR

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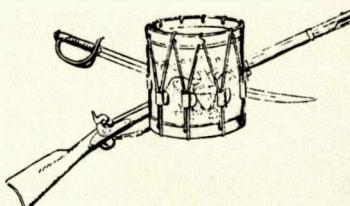
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*Ominous threats of secession hovered over the Wigwam during the 1860 convention*

# CAMPAIGNS AND CRISIS

*What role were Indiana delegates to play in nominating "Honest Abe" of Illinois?*

By HUBERT H. HAWKINS

*Director*

INDIANA HISTORICAL BUREAU

INDIANA delegates to the 1860 convention of the young Republican party at Chicago had a major role in the climax of a crucial political fight which had been brewing almost a quarter of a century.

What was this question that bothered citizens of all the states and was threatening the existence of the Union, itself?

Why was 1860 a year of political decision?

For a generation the slavery issue, especially the question of the extension of slavery, had agitated American politics. Crises induced frail compromises which often inspired a further crisis. Sectional bitterness reached the critical point. These tensions wrecked the Whig party and in the North it was replaced by the Republican party.

Among the Democrats, Stephen A. Douglas, Senator from Illinois, became the leader of those who advocated "popular sovereignty" (home rule) as a solution to the slavery issue in the territories. The southern wing of the party insisted that the national government protect slavery in the territories regardless of local sentiment. Douglas broke with the Democratic President, James Buchanan, over the status of slavery in Kansas and their feud divided the party. Despite administration opposition, Douglas secured renomination in 1858 and held his senatorial seat after the famous debates with Abraham Lincoln. In order to retain support in Illinois, Douglas took a position that rendered him unacceptable to the South.

#### DEMOCRATS DIVIDED OVER DOUGLAS

In April, 1860, the Democrats met at Charleston, South Carolina. Douglas, the leading candidate, was opposed by administration and southern leaders. After fierce fights over the seating of rival delegations, the platform, and the nomination, itself, the states of the lower South withdrew and disrupted the convention. With the Democracy thus divided, Republicans looked to their convention at Chicago with a new optimism.

There was no dearth of Republican candidates at the Chicago convention. Militant Republicans rallied to the

standard of William Seward, Senator from New York, whose name was identified with the "higher law" doctrine. Edward Bates of Missouri, Abraham Lincoln of Illinois, and John McLean of Ohio shared the conservative strength.

Moderation typified the Indiana Republican party in 1860. John C. Fremont, the Republican candidate in 1856, had run poorly in Indiana. Since he was identified with radical Republicanism, his defeat was cited as proof that Seward would not do. Friendly consideration was given to the claims of Bates, Lincoln and McLean.

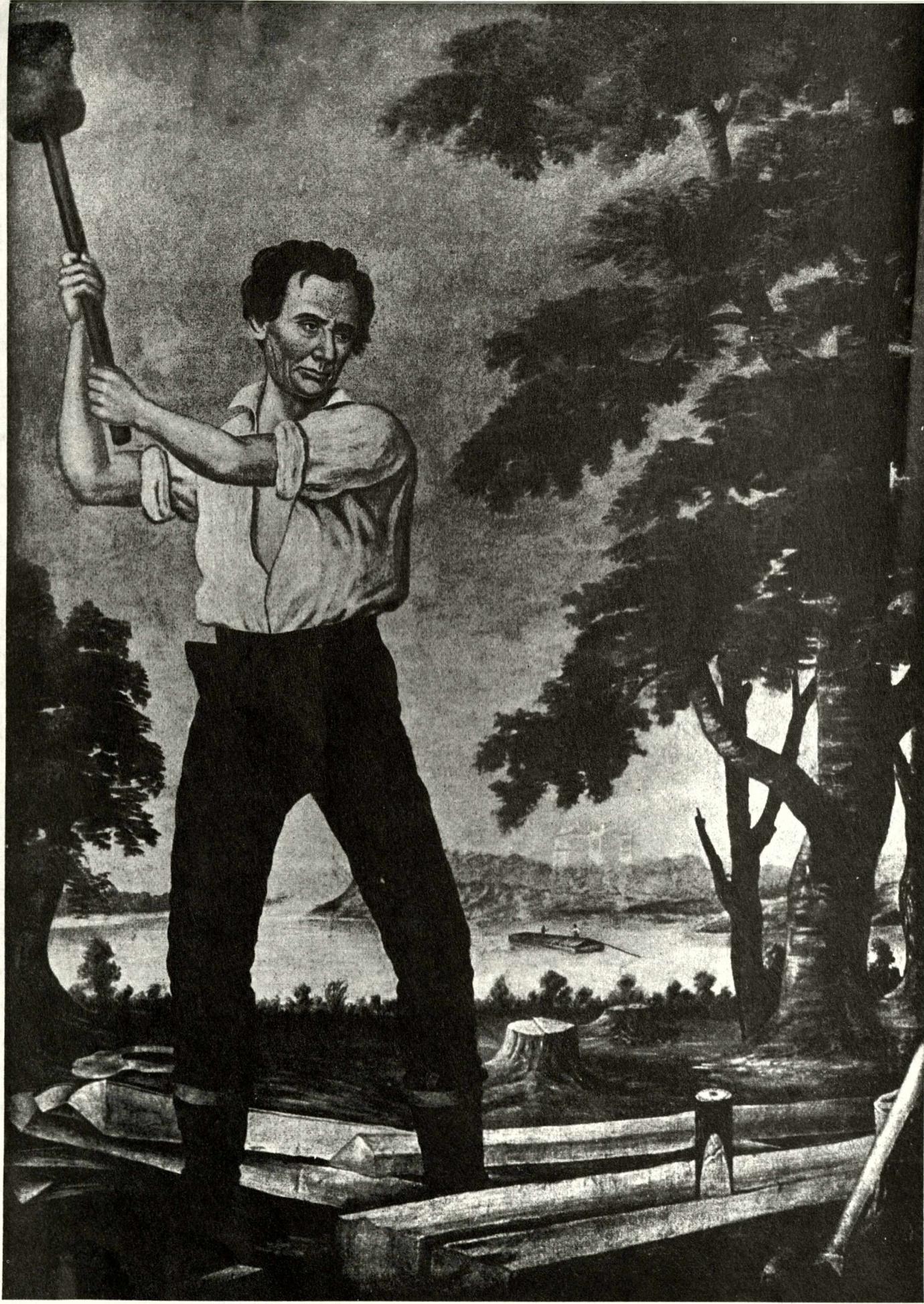
Schuyler Colfax of South Bend led the powerful Bates group at the state convention in February. Bates supporters from St. Louis entertained generously at the Bates House. Reprints from Greeley's *New York Tribune* in support of Bates were circulated. However, strong anti-slavery men, such as George Julian, thought Bates too conservative. The German element would not forget nor forgive Bates' partnership with the nativistic Know Nothings. Naturally, Lincoln's friends joined this opposition and as a result of their combined efforts the Indiana delegation to the Chicago convention was uninstructed.

With 13 electoral and 26 convention votes, Indiana constituted a prize worth seeking. Holding the same number of electoral votes as Massachusetts, Indiana ranked fifth in the nation and only Ohio had a stronger political voice in the Old Northwest. Hoosier support was all the more desired because of Indiana's status as a "doubtful state." Lincoln recognized this point in a letter to Caleb Blood Smith, a prominent Con-

INDIANA DELEGATES to the Chicago convention commissioned an unidentified artist in 1860 to paint this life-size portrait of Abraham Lincoln to be used at all campaign rallies in Hoosierland. "The Rail Splitter," portraying the candidate in a role stressed by his supporters, now belongs to the Chicago Historical Society.

—Photo courtesy of Chicago Historical Society





nersville lawyer and U. S. Congressman, when he wrote: "We might succeed in the general results without Indiana, but with it, failure is scarcely possible."

Lincoln's adherents in Indiana worked hard in his behalf between the Indianapolis convention and the Chicago conclave. Cyrus M. Allen, Henry S. Lane, and Caleb B. Smith spearheaded the Lincoln drive. Again and again, they stressed that Lincoln *could* win.

#### WOOING IN THE WIGWAM

The Indiana delegation reached Chicago on May 12. Representatives of Bates, Lincoln and other candidates assiduously wooed the Hoosiers. An informal poll on May 15 indicated that Lincoln was in the lead.

In his political dispatches for the Indianapolis *Daily Journal*, Berry Sulgrave wrote on May 15 from the Richmond House where he and five other men shared a stuffy 10x15 room for \$2.50 a day: "Illinois is for Lincoln always and all the time. Indiana leans in the same direction. At a caucus of the delegates this morning the expression was in the main for Lincoln. But our men are not 'hide-bound.' They will support any man who is sound and reliable and has a decent show of strength. There is a decided effort for Mr. Bates and I think it is stronger than anyone at home could have suspected."

The convention opened on May 16 in the Wigwam, a two-story structure, 180x100 feet, that had been erected in two weeks near the downtown lake front. Thousands of people had poured into "the queen city of the west" and that morning choked all avenues to the meeting place. "There was no way to move along except to stand still and let the slowly drifting mass move you as a glacier does imbedded gravel stones—no fuss, no struggling, no effort."

#### BATES' SUPPORTERS CONCEDE

Jamming the hall to capacity were 12,000 men and women. Outside were 20,000 more. When the Indiana delegation saw this crowd, their feelings, wounded in not being able to get the convention to come to Indianapolis, were healed immediately. They realized that they could not have taken care of that number any more than they could have harbored Xerxes' army or lodged the Wabash River in little Pogue's Creek.

The final decision was made on the morning of May 17. A Bates supporter, John Defrees explained, "We Bates men of Indiana concluded that the only way to beat Seward was to go for Lincoln as a unit." After May 17 the Indiana delegation was solidly behind Lincoln.

Once committed, the Hoosiers did yeoman service in rallying additional support for the Illinoian. Henry S. Lane, Republican candidate for governor of Indiana and chairman of the Philadelphia convention, was one of those who spent the night of the 17th seeking votes from undecided delegations. One witness saw Lane "at one o'clock, pale and haggard, with cane under his arm, walking . . . from one caucus-room

to another, at the Tremont House." Lane told the delegates that Seward's nomination would ensure Republican defeat in Indiana. A report was widely circulated that the Republican candidates for governor in Indiana, Illinois and Pennsylvania would give up their candidacies if Seward were nominated.

On Friday, May 18, Lincoln's nomination was seconded by Caleb Blood Smith (see cover picture) whose "clear voice rang like a bugle all over the house," Sulgrave reported.

Henry S. Lane led the Hoosiers into a wild demonstration. His voice was so weakened by previous speaking and by shouting that he could scarcely be heard. Before his voice gave out completely, he pledged Indiana for a 10,000 majority for Lincoln and then pledged his personal honor for its redemption. When the balloting began, Indiana's twenty-six votes were cast for Lincoln. This vote was pivotal. It established Lincoln as a major contender. Only Illinois gave comparable support to Lincoln on the first ballot. Cyrus Allen has been credited with undermining Seward strength in the Massachusetts delegation.

#### WITH LINCOLN ALL THE WAY

Indiana never wavered in the subsequent balloting and Lincoln was nominated on the third ballot. The Hoosiers returned home with the jubilant consciousness that they had contributed decisively to the nomination of Abraham Lincoln, a candidate who had spent 14 important years of his life in Indiana. They were even more elated by the conviction that they had secured a nominee who could carry Indiana in November.

At the Hoosier capital Friday night, news of the nomination prompted huge bonfires, shooting of rockets, and spirited speeches. Mounting a speakers' stand in the middle of Pennsylvania and Washington streets were Benjamin Harrison, Republican candidate for reporter of the Supreme Court; Judge Henry P. Coburn, A. H. Conner, H. C. Newcomb, and A. S. Griggs of Martinsville.

#### HOOSIER CAMPAIGN FEVER HIGH

The following night Caleb B. Smith returned to Indianapolis from the convention and at Court House Square addressed several thousands of persons. He said of Lincoln, "He is a man fresh from the people, a true representative of our free institutions who can split rails and maul Democrats." Also speaking that night were Reuben A. Riley of Greenfield, father of James Whitcomb, who spoke on Republican principles, and William Grose of New Castle who kept the crowd in roars of laughter with his humorous anecdotes.

Indiana Republicans were enthusiastic for "honest old Abe" and were highly pleased that their first choice secured the nomination.

# FORT SUMTER FALLS!

By LOUISE ELEANOR KLEINHENZ

*Editorial Assistant*

THE INDIANA TEACHER

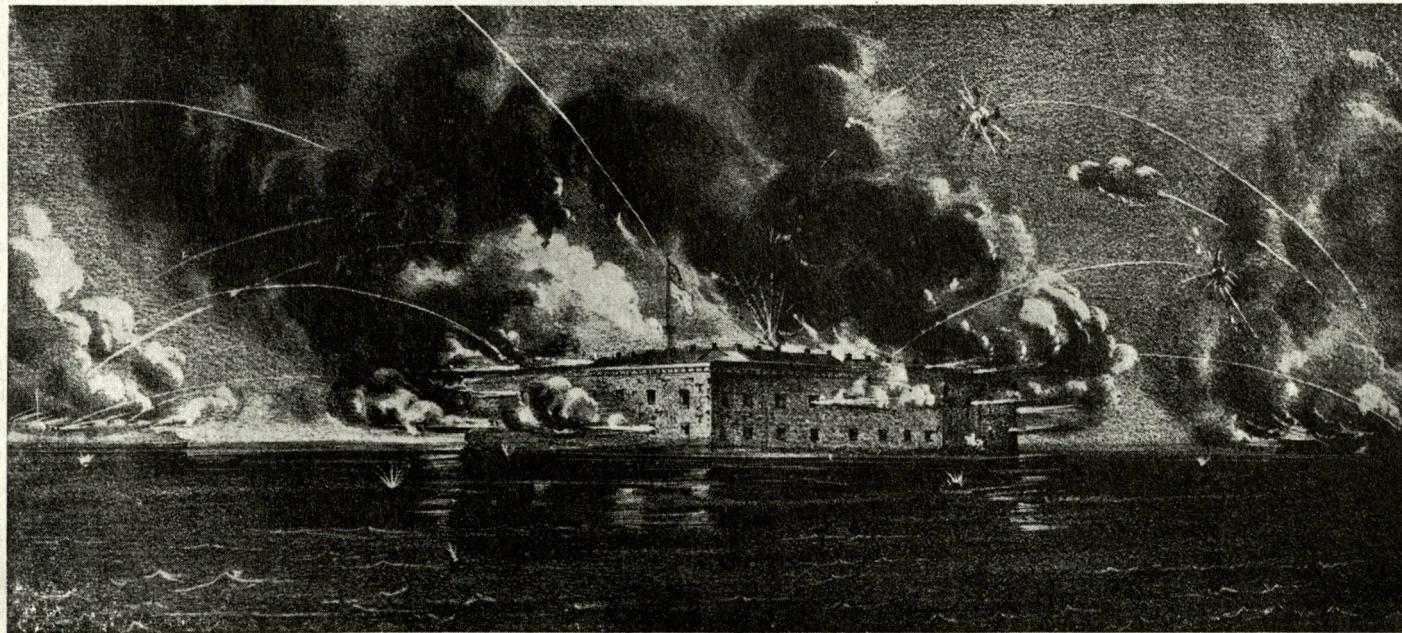
THIS HEADLINE of April 15, 1861, only one column wide and carried on the inside of the widely read *Indiana Daily Journal*, and the April 13 headline, reproduced on the cover, were trumpet calls to action for Indiana citizens who believed strongly in preserving the Union, the Constitution, and the Stars and Stripes, even if it meant war.

These events in the Charleston (S.C.) harbor did lead to conflict, a long four-year struggle called the Civil War or the War of the Rebellion. In days of unheard of excitement, Indiana men hurried to enlist, fearing the fracas would be over before they had a chance to strike the traitors down.

There had been much war talk in Indiana the winter of 1860-1861. South Carolina had seceded on December 20. In January five states—Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Georgia, and Louisiana—withdrew from the Union. Texas joined them in February. Representatives of these seven states met at Montgomery, Alabama, on February 4, 1861, and adopted a provisional constitution and elected Jeff Davis of Mississippi as President of the Confederate States of America. This was a month before Lincoln was inaugurated as President.

On his way to Washington, D. C. from Springfield, Illinois, Lincoln stopped off for an overnight visit in Indianapolis on February 11, 1861. Oliver Perry Morton who had just taken up the duties of Governor welcomed him and spoke of the need of preserving the Union. Lincoln, in responding, said it was the business of the people to rise up and preserve the Union and liberty for themselves. In the famous Bates House address that night, referring to the seceding states, Lincoln said, "What mysterious right to play tyrant is conferred on a district of country, with its people, by merely calling it a state?" The President-Elect thanked Hoosiers for the generous support given to the "political cause which I think is the true and just cause of the whole country and the whole world."

The question of the extension of slavery into territory not yet organized into states and the matter of states rights were two of the main causes of bitterness between the North and the South. Lincoln said, "One section of our country believes slavery is right and ought to be extended, while the other believes it is wrong and ought not to be extended. . . . I be-



FORT SUMTER bombarded on April 12 and 13, 1861! This lithograph by Currier and Ives graphically depicts the attack in the Charleston

harbor that began at 4 p.m. April 12, the day after Major Anderson refused to surrender.

Photo from the Bettmann Archive

# Hoosiers Rally with Men and Guns in High Excitement

lieve this government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free. . . . Either the opponents of slavery will arrest the further spread of it, and place it where the public mind shall rest in the belief that it is in the course of ultimate extinction, or its advocates will push it forward till it shall become alike lawful in all the states, old as well as new, North as well as South."

#### **STATES SOVEREIGNTY ONE ISSUE**

There were many other reasons for the deep antagonistic feeling the South had for the North. The southern states believed in state sovereignty in opposition to national supremacy. Their agrarian economy was matched against that of the industrial and commercial North. They liked their aristocratic ways more than the democratic ways of the North. They had hated the northern Yankee for decades, blaming him for all their difficulties. They wanted to found a new nation, entirely separate from the North, and to dedicate it to chivalric ideals.

After Lincoln's inauguration there was such a rush of office seeking that events around the rising Confederacy were not too apparent. Jeff Davis called for 20,000 volunteers on April 8. Soon after that the Confederate forces seized Forts Moultrie and Pickney in Charleston Harbor. On April 12 they began a bombardment of Fort Sumter.

Major Robert Anderson, a Kentuckian, commanding the United States forces in Charleston Harbor, fearing an attack on Fort Moultrie, had moved December 26 to Fort Sumter, a stronger fortification in the center of the harbor. The first shot of the war was fired on January 9, 1861, when the Confederates fired on the steamer, *Star of the West*, which was bringing supplies to the fort. They succeeded in driving it off.

#### **INDIANA G.O.P. NOT FOR ABOLITION**

In Indiana on January 7 the Zouave Guards, a newly organized military company, was formed and offered its services to the Governor in case of war. But most Indiana citizens did not believe war would come. They thought it would be averted. Indiana Republicans were not for the abolition of slavery. They had condemned John Brown's raid the year before and had no sympathy with Garrison, Phillips and abolitionists generally.

But when Fort Sumter was bombarded, all thoughts of compromise were banished. The rebellion must be put down. The majority of citizens of the state backed their 38 year old Governor in everything he wanted done.

News from the Seat of War!

#### **Surrender of Fort Sumter!**

ANDERSON AND HIS MEN TAKEN PRISONER

#### **SUMTER ON FIRE**

#### **EXPLOSION OF THE MAGAZINES**

Three War Vessels Over the Bar!

#### **HOOSIERS QUICK TO REACT TO ATTACK**

Reaction to the story of the bombardment of Fort Sumter brought mass patriotic meetings over the state. In Indianapolis streets were thronged with people. Business was forgotten.

Men and women lined up in front of newspaper offices, awaiting the latest news to come over telegraph wires.

Bulletins were hung in windows. (See *Indiana Teacher* cover.)

People sensed the national crisis. They talked in low, grave tones.

April 13 was on Saturday. In the afternoon a dodger appeared, telling of a meeting that evening at the Court House. The small place was soon filled to overflowing so the crowd hurried down Washington Street to the Metropolitan Hall (where the Indiana Theater now stands) and spilled over into the Masonic Hall across the street.

Younger men were cheering Major Anderson and his brave forces as they ran along. Older men, newspaper accounts say, clenched their fists and knitted their brows, pledging each other to uphold the honor of the flag, to lay down their lives for it, and to defend it from insult.

#### **MORTON COLLECTED ARMS; WALLACE MOBILIZED**

At this meeting Ebenezer Dumont, a colonel from the Mexican War, acted as chairman and assured the people assembled that the Governor was ready for any emergency that might arise. Morton had already been over the state, collecting public arms and putting them in readiness. He had also been to Washington, D.C., and made arrangements for the state to be supplied with 6,000 stands of arms and several field pieces. People in the two patriotic mass meetings passed resolutions that while deprecating the horrors of civil war and regretting the madness and crimes that were precipitating the country into those horrors, they would unite as one man to repel all treasonable assaults upon the government, its property, and citizens. They pledged their lives, their fortunes, and their honor to save the Union.

Lewis Wallace, a military man who was later to become a famous author, was named adjutant general on April 15. He issued orders for companies to be formed over the state. The Governor wrote President Lincoln, on April 15, that he had 10,000 men ready. On that date Lincoln issued a proclamation asking for 75,000 volunteers from the states' militias.

War news consolidated public sentiment and unmasked traitors. Another newspaper in Indianapolis, the *Sentinel*, came out during the siege of Sumter denouncing the adminis-

tration and sympathizing with the seceding states, much to the wrath of many Union men who wanted to mob the *Sentinel* office. The article that caused these high feelings read in part:

"Mr. Lincoln will seek to evade the responsibility of inaugurating civil war by charging the overt act upon the Montgomery government. The Declaration of Independence is our authority that any state or nation deliberately resolving that its government is intolerable has a right to change it. And the Confederate States, not we, have the right to judge whether our government is oppressive to them."

#### NEWSPAPERS CLASH IN STATE

The *Madison (Ind.) Courier*, reprinting this, answered heatedly: "The *Indianapolis Sentinel* is indubitably unpatriotic and partisan if not tory, and its Saturday article caused excitement, and we have been told it required the exertions of order-loving citizens to prevent a mob. Such sentiments are fitter for the meridian of Charleston than Indianapolis."

The *Courier* carried in its masthead the second resolution of the party that was adopted at the Chicago convention in 1860: "The Federal Constitution, the rights of the States, the Union of the States must and shall be preserved."

"Everybody is chock full of war and patriotism," the *Crawfordsville Review* commented. This was one of many newspapers urging railroad men to let people travel at half-fare to Indianapolis in order to visit their boys at Camp Morton. Railroads over the state cooperated so well that on Sunday, April 21, more than 10,000 visitors tried to visit the encampment where 5,000 men were billeted. The results were utter confusion. The men couldn't get their work done for swarms of friends and relatives. The following day, Stephen A. Douglas was supposed to inspect the camp with members of the

**A HOOSIER REGIMENT**, the Zouaves, took an oath as the 11th regiment of the Indiana Volunteers in May, 1861, on the lawn of the state capitol in Indianapolis. This drawing, which appeared in *Harper's Weekly*, shows the high excitement after women presented the troops



Indiana legislature, then in special session to take care of war needs. So many people turned out to see Mr. Douglas that he couldn't get near the camp, let alone inspect it. This brought about a stringent ruling that no more visitors would be allowed.

Towns over the state having local spring elections asked that party lines be dropped. There is but one party now, said the *Logansport Journal*, and that is the "grand army of Union-loving citizens." Republicans and Democrats vied with each other in patriotic demonstrations.

#### TRAINS AND TELEGRAPH GUARDED

Some Indiana newspapers had a struggle to stay in print because of losing their typesetters to the army. Traitorous acts were performed in the Hoosier state that brought about more vigilance. At Wabash, railroad employees discovered a huge boulder on a track near a high embankment over which Fort Wayne volunteers were to be transported. After that, the railroad tracks were guarded night and day. Fear that telegraph wires would be cut added to the populace's anxiety that it would have no source of news.

April was a month of important events leading to war. Virginia seceded. Lincoln proclaimed a blockade of Southern ports on the 19th. The Confederacy passed a general conscription law and the federal arsenal at Harper's Ferry, Virginia, was seized by Confederate General Letcher on the 19th. On April 20 the U. S. Navy Yard at Norfolk, Virginia, was taken with a vast quantity of war materials and supplies.

Lincoln declared earlier, "We must settle this question now, whether, in a free government, the minority have the right to break up the government whenever they choose. If we fail, it will go far to prove the incapability of the people to govern themselves." The North answered the South with a spirited rush to arms.

"with a splendid stand of colors." Their war cry was "Remember Buena Vista," alluding to poor treatment Indiana troops had received at the hands of Jefferson Davis during the war with Mexico.

—Photo courtesy of Indiana State Library

# Indiana Goes To War<sup>9</sup>

By CARL A. ZENOR

*Chairman*

INDIANA CIVIL WAR  
CENTENNIAL COMMISSION

**STOP!**

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**Lieut. W. Hite,**

Will be in the town of MARTINSVILLE on TUESDAY evening, OCTOBER 29th, 1861, with his

**FLYING ARTILLERY!**

He wants a few more men. Come and see his Big Gun and join his company.  
October 29th, 1861.

E. W. Callis & Co., Printers, Gazette Office.

INDIANA citizens have always responded to their country's call in time of need. Never has the response been prompter or fuller than during the Civil War. More Hoosiers gave their lives to defend our country during the Civil War than in all other wars combined. Indiana had a larger percentage of its young men volunteer for service than any other state in the nation. Throughout the war, Hoosiers fought and died to sustain the Union.

Indiana furnished 208,367 men for the Union Army; of these 24,416 were killed or died of disease while in service. This gives a casualty list of more than 12 per cent. Of 136 Indiana regiments which saw service during the war, at least 11 had over 30 per cent of their men who were killed or died of disease during their period of enlistment.

Indiana troops participated in a total of 308 engagements during the Civil War, entering the fight for the first time at Philippi, Virginia, on June 3, 1861, and fighting in the last battle of the Civil War at Palmetto Ranch, Texas, on May 13, 1865. In one battle, the Battle of Atlanta, Indiana had 46 infantry regiments and nine batteries of light artillery engaged.

## THE FLAG'S HONOR VS. SOUTHERN SENTIMENTS

Why did Hoosiers respond in so impressive a fashion? Certainly it cannot be because Indiana was extremely militant. Most of Indiana's citizens of the 1860's had never seen a military company at drill. Some Indiana men had seen service during the Mexican war, but there were only six trained militia companies in Indiana at the outbreak of the Civil War. Likewise, it cannot be because Indiana was directly opposed to the South. A good case can be made for tying Indiana to the South for economic reasons, as well as for family connections and migration patterns.

The average Indiana citizen was stunned by the news that the American flag had been fired upon. There was an imme-



CAMP MORTON in Indianapolis, site of the old Indiana State Fair between Talbot and Central from 19th to 22nd, was a training ground of sorts for new recruits who were to fight with the 27th Indiana

Volunteer Regiment. Camp life for the Hoosier boys in blue was lax by present military standards.

Drawing and poster courtesy of Indiana State Library

diate reaction by a great percentage of the eligible men to flock to the enlistment tables and join a company to "Sustain the Union and put down Rebellion." There are also numerous accounts of non-eligible citizens who tried to enlist—old men dyed their beards and gray hair, young boys placed the number 18 in their shoes so they could claim to be "over 18," and women disguised themselves as men—all trying to answer their country's call.

Most of the companies were organized within a given community. As soon as 100 men had signed the Company's roll, an election was held to choose the commissioned and non-commissioned officers. The companies were usually given a farewell by the local citizens, complete with pitch-in dinner, patriotic addresses, martial music, and sad farewells.

#### FEW DAYS' TRAINING THEN OFF TO WAR

Upon reporting to a place of rendezvous, they were organized into regiments of 10 companies each and mustered into federal service. The regimental officers were appointed by the Governor. A few weeks, or days, of training was given the men and the regiment was sent off to the front.

Typical of the companies to be formed was Company A, 27th Indiana Volunteer Regiment. On July 18, 1861, the following notice appeared in the *Putnam Republican Banner* at Greencastle:

#### "FREEMEN AND PATRIOTS"

Our Government is in danger of disruption by traitors. A call will be made for more soldiers. The undersigned purpose is to anticipate that call by assisting to raise a company of Volunteers to serve during the war.

#### WHO WILL GO WITH US?

Let every patriot see to it that HE does his duty to his Government in the hour of her greatest need! Our fathers gave us the best government in the world, sealed with their hearts' blood! 'Tis ours to transmit to our posterity UNTARNISHED AND UNDIVIDED. Let us organize a company and be ready to march whenever and wherever our country calls us!"

Within two weeks the company was about full, and on Tuesday, August 6, the men "congregated at Greencastle and elected" the company officers. The ladies of Greencastle prepared a "scrumptious repast" for them on the eve of their departure, and they reported to Camp Morton, Indianapolis, on August 8, 1861.

#### STATE FAIR BECOMES ARMY CAMP

Camp Morton was simply the ground and buildings where the Indiana State Fair was held annually. It was named after Governor Oliver P. Morton of Indiana. The soldiers, though yet hardly deserving of the name, were quartered in stables and pens built for horses, cattle and swine. The race track was used for a drill field.

A limited amount of drill without arms and an occasional turn at standing guard was all the duty required of the men while at Camp Morton. The drill was more or less voluntary. Anyone who did not want to drill could avoid most of it with little difficulty.

A few days were taken up in assembling the various companies and completing their rosters. On September 12, 1861, the 27th Indiana Volunteer Regiment was mustered into the service of the United States for three years. Silas Colgrove was promoted to Colonel and put in command of the regiment, and on September 15, they left for Washington, D. C., by rail.

The hazards of their new life were brought into focus on this trip when the train carrying the regiment ran off the

track, instantly killing a young man in Company A. The accident was caused by "a two-year-old calf of the male persuasion" which jumped in front of the train and landed under the wheels, between the locomotive and the tender, thus causing the derailment of several baggage and stock cars.

#### PVT. MITCHELL FINDS A LETTER

Later, a private of this regiment was to change the course of a battle. It was at Frederick, Maryland, just before the Battle of Antietam, that Private B. W. Mitchell, of Company F, 27th Indiana Volunteer Regiment, earned his place in fame. As the men of the 27th Indiana lay down in the clear grass to rest in a field, Private Mitchell brought to Col. Colgrove, commanding the 27th, the now historic Lost Dispatch, or order No. 191.

Pvt. Mitchell had found the order wrapped around three cigars. The order was signed by Colonel Chilton, General Lee's Adjutant-General. It was a general order giving directions for the movement of General Lee's entire army, designating the route and objective point of each corps.

The order was at once taken to General McClellan's headquarters and within an hour after the dispatch had been found, General McClellan's whole army was on the move. The enemy was overtaken the next day, September 14, at Stone Mountain, where the battle of that name was fought. During the night of the 14th, General Lee's army fell back towards the Potomac River, General McClellan following the next day. On September 16 they were overtaken again, and the battle of Antietam was fought.

#### COMPOSITE "PICTURE" OF HOOSIER SOLDIER

It is impossible to get an accurate "average" picture of an Indiana soldier of the Civil War, but the following figures based on records of 64,364 Indiana Soldiers in the United States Service during the war will give us something on which to base our average. Of this number, 45,008 were natives of Indiana and Ohio. Agriculture was listed as their previous occupation by 45,674. Almost two-thirds had light complexions and either dark or sandy hair. There were 27,089 who had blue eyes, while gray came in second with 16,576. The medium age of 118,254 Indiana soldiers was 22 years. Thus, our typical or average soldier turns out to be a young farm boy, about 5 feet 8 inches tall, light complexioned, with dark or sandy hair and blue or gray eyes.

It is interesting to speculate about what the Indiana soldier looked like, but it is much more interesting to study the reasons these men volunteered, to see how they reacted to military life, what they thought when going into combat, etc. Here our best source of information is the records left by the soldiers themselves, especially in their letters and journals.

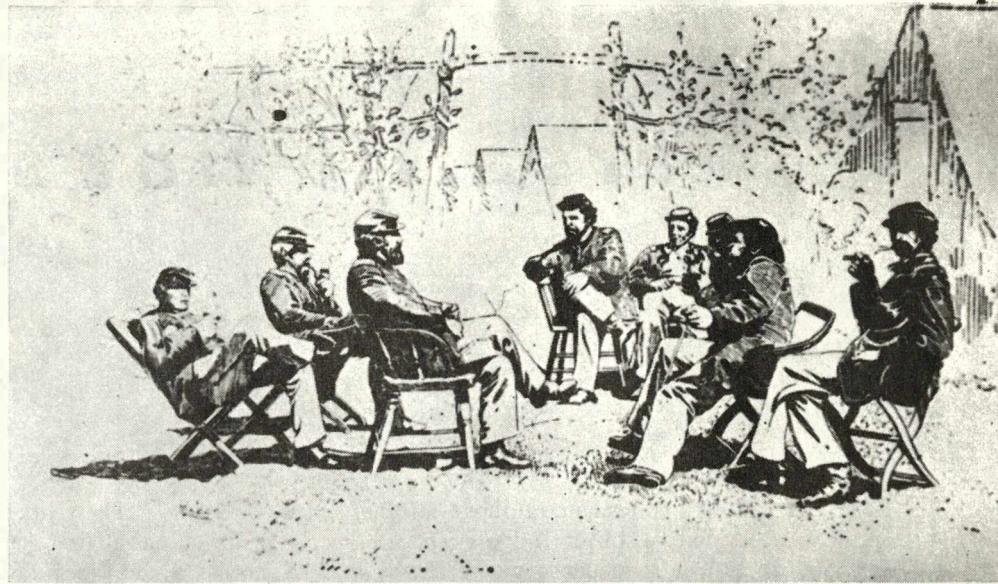
#### SOLDIERS' PATRIOTISM WAS HIGH

Early in September, 1861, one Hoosier officer, Capt. James Grimsley of Gosport, wrote his father:

"I feel proud to be honored with so important a mission and feel heavily resting upon me the responsibility attaching to it. I have often thought it a desperate thing to kill a man, and shudder at the low idea of murder, but I have assumed a relationship to my government and country when, under some circumstances, it becomes my highest duty to even shed blood and take lives."

This same officer in writing to his wife said, "My ambition has been, first by my conduct and action to deserve such a heart as yours, and second to do my country service." And again he wrote, "I only hope that I may prove myself worthy of the title of citizenship in my glorious undivided country."

**CAMP LIFE** during the Civil War was portrayed in this drawing, taken from the filmstrip *The Soldier in the Field*, prepared by the author for the Indiana Historical Society. He prepared two filmstrips, *Indiana in the Civil War*, which the Society sells as a package with accompanying literature.



In reading the diaries and letters written by the Indiana soldier during the Civil War, one cannot but be impressed with this desire to serve the nation. The men were fighting for a cause in which they believed: *The Union Must Be Sustained!*

In describing the Battle of Antietam, Sgt. Simpson Hamrick of the 27th Indiana Volunteer Regiment wrote: "Here the most desperate battle ever fought on this continent took place. The whole of General Banks' old command was engaged, the 27th with the rest, and she more than covered herself with glory. We suffered heavily. Over half of the effective men of our regiment that went onto the field were wounded or killed." Within a few weeks after that battle, he wrote his brother saying: "We would rather, every one of us, lay down our lives than see all our labors lost and, worst of all, the pride of our once happy nation crumble to ruin and be numbered with the past but God forbid such results. By the Eternal we will conquer or give ourselves as sacrifice. . . . Surely this Government must be preserved and sustained." That Simpson Hamrick meant what he said is evidenced by the fact that he paid the supreme sacrifice the next time his regiment went into combat. He was mortally wounded during the Battle of Chancellorsville.

#### **NEW LIFE FOR RURAL YOUTH**

Not only did the Hoosier soldier have to adjust to the idea of killing and being killed, but also the adjustment to camp life was a giant step from the rural background of most of them. The following is the Order of Exercise followed by at least one command when not engaged in combat or marches:

Reveille.....	At Sun Rise
Breakfast.....	At 7 a.m.
Guard Mound.....	At 9 a.m.
Police Call.....	At 9:15 a.m.
Drill.....	At 10 a.m.
Recall.....	At 11:30 a.m.
Dinner Call.....	At 12:30 p.m.
Drill.....	At 2 p.m.
Recall.....	At 4 p.m.
Dress Parade.....	At 5 p.m.
Supper Call.....	At 5:30 p.m.
Retreat.....	At Sun Set
Tattoo.....	At 8:45 p.m.
Taps.....	At 9 p.m.

The Hoosier soldier often tried to compensate for being away from home by making his camp as much like home as possible. During the winter when they might be at one place for some time, they often built log cabins that contained many of the comforts of home. They were helped over the rough spots by packages of food and clothing from relatives at home.

#### **PEOPLE PAY BOUNTY, RELIEF FUNDS**

The people of Indiana aided the soldiers in the field in many ways. During the war, a total of \$15,492,876.04 was expended for local bounties. This money was used to pay a bonus for enlisting. This in turn meant that a township or county would be able to encourage enough men to enlist to avoid having to resort to the draft to meet its quota of enlistments. A relief fund of \$4,566,898.06 was raised for soldiers' families. The soldier was able to keep his mind on the business at hand when he knew his family was being cared for back home.

The religious life of the men in the field was not neglected. The newspapers of the period carried many stories of ministers who visited different camps and fields of battle to preach to the troops and visit with the men from their communities. Most regiments had a Chaplain who enlisted at the time of muster into Federal service. Many of them served with their regiments throughout their service.

#### **NO USO OR STAR-STUDDED SHOWS**

Much of a soldier's spare time was spent in informal groups chatting about news from home, about local, state and national politics, or about other items of less significance but none the less interesting to the men. They also engaged in card games, baseball, songfests, and other forms of sport and entertainment.

While the Civil War soldier was a part of a large army, he lived with a small group. Usually a group of five or six men would mess together. They would pool their rations and take turns doing the cooking.

Hoosier soldiers had to adjust in many ways. Yet, adjust they did. They came to be numbered with the best fighting men the world has ever known. Most of them did not enjoy being in the army. Their letters were filled with longing for home and loved ones, yet they served faithfully. Many of them had become veterans when their original enlistments were up and stayed in the field until the war was won and the Union no longer in danger of division.

# LEW WALLACE:

## Versatile Hoosier

By HOWARD H. BATES

The Bobbs-Merrill Company

INDIANAPOLIS

**L**AWYER, soldier, statesman, author—all these titles are applicable to a native son of Indiana whose name is again in prominence. The spectacular movie *Ben Hur* once more has brought the name of Lew Wallace to the attention of the people throughout the world.

Lew Wallace had three full careers—lawyer, soldier, and statesman—before *Ben Hur* was published in 1880. He was born in Brookville in 1827, the son of David Wallace, who later was Governor of Indiana from 1837-1841.

Lew Wallace was an intense young man who enjoyed reading, but disliked formal schools. As he approached manhood, he "read law" in his father's office.

### OFF FOR MEXICO!

In 1842, when Lew was 15, a wave of military enthusiasm swept Indianapolis, and two militia companies were organized. One company was the "City Guards" or "Grey Backs," composed of men from 18 to 25 years. The "Marion Rifles" was composed of boys from 15 to 18, uniformed in cotton hunting shirts. Lew Wallace became a sergeant in the "Rifles." Within a few months he mastered Scott's *Rules and Regulations for Field Exercises and Manoeuvres of Infantry*.

In 1846 the Mexican War absorbed the attention of the Hoosier capital, and in May of that year Lew (age 19) hired a fifer and drummer and placed a sign in his father's office window: "For Mexico—Fall In." Within three days he recruited a full company and was appointed second lieutenant. Most of his recruits were from the militia companies.

Indianapolis women made the flag for the company. With the admonition of his father, "Good-by; come back a man," Lew and his company rode in wagons to Greenwood where the railroad to Jeffersonville then had its northern terminus.

The first Indiana volunteers made some hard marches, lost many men by disease, but saw little or no action in battle. The year of service in the field prepared the young man for the greater conflict to come. The duty in Mexico filled the young man's mind with ideas that were to bear fruit later in many of his books.

The years between 1847 and the Civil War were filled with legal practice and political activity. He rode the circuit as did Lincoln whom he met at a courthouse at Danville, Illinois. The routine office duties of a lawyer did not appeal to Wallace, who opened an office at Covington, but he was superb as a jury pleader.

After his marriage, he moved to Crawfordsville in 1853.

### FIRST NOVEL PRINTED 20 YEARS LATER

One of the first Wallace novels was *The Fair God*, written in 1853 and published in 1873 after he became famous. It sold over 200,000 copies.

At the age of 29, Wallace served as a state senator from Montgomery County. About 1856, he realized that the Civil War was inevitable. He organized a militia company at Crawfordsville in that year and served as captain. He recruited his company with the sage advice that when war came, the members would be qualified to obtain commissions. By 1865, almost all of the 50 militiamen had become officers in the Volunteer Service.

The Crawfordsville company drilled two nights a week, and the "armory" was a hall above a drugstore rented by Wallace. The "Zouave" pattern of drill and flashy uniform sponsored by Captain Elmer Ellsworth of Chicago were adopted by the Crawfordsville company. Competitive and exhibition drills were held all over Indiana, and Wallace found himself a military leader of state-wide renown.

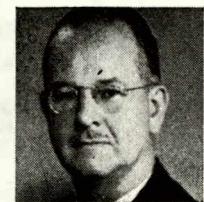
### BEST TALENT INDIANA HAD

The crisis was at hand. In a nation where 98 per cent of the people had never seen or known a regular soldier, Wallace was the best talent Indiana had. The telegraphic request to Governor Oliver P. Morton for volunteers on April 15, 1861, caused the Governor to telegraph Wallace, appointing him as the Adjutant General of Indiana. The state was called upon to provide six regiments to serve for three months. With an agreement that Wallace could command one of the regiments, he accepted the post. At the age of 34, the moment for which Wallace had lived had arrived.

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**AUTHOR** Howard H. Bates, a member of the Indianapolis Committee for Civil War Centennial Observance, has done extensive research on the Civil War and is considered an authority on the Battle of Shiloh. Enlisting in World War I at 16, he held the rank of sergeant when honorably discharged. In World War II he served as Lieutenant Colonel and Colonel in the Indiana State Guard, State Service, being

placed on the retired list as Lieutenant Colonel, U. S. Army Reserve, January 31, 1956. A member of the Indiana State and American Bar Associations, he is coordinator in the law division of the Bobbs-Merrill Company, a firm recently announcing ten new Civil War titles, eight historical and two fictional. In addition, his company is also printing textbooks formerly owned by Scribner's.



He worked around the clock, and four days after President Lincoln's call not only was the Indiana quota filled, but enough men had volunteered to fill it twice. Having fulfilled his task as State Adjutant General, Wallace resigned and became the Colonel of the 11th Indiana. The regiment was uniformed in the Zouave uniform, which resembled the Shriner's costume of today.

Six of the companies comprising the 11th, through the influence of Wallace, were militia companies organized before the call to arms. Thus, Wallace had the only well-drilled units in his regiment. Within a few days after organization, the discipline and drill of the 11th surpassed all other regiments. The regiment was filled with a thousand young men of the highest caliber. In Company "I" alone were 30 Wabash College students. In May, they marched to the Statehouse grounds. Garbed in the Zouave jackets piped in red, baggy trousers with Hungarian knots at the side in red, and blue shirts, the regiment at the command of Wallace knelt and swore to "Remember Buena Vista" (see page 78, *The Indiana Teacher*, October, 1960).

The service of the 11th in the three months' service was exciting in some respects but not bloody. The records testify to the careful attention of Colonel Wallace during this period. Only one man died from disease in the three months' service.

#### REGIMENT REORGANIZED

Upon muster out on August 2, 1861, Wallace, as did all other colonels, started to reorganize the 11th for the three years' service. On August 31, 1861, the regiment was filled and mustered in at Indianapolis. This regiment, which was Wallace's handiwork, carried on throughout the war and after a total death loss of 288 officers and men, was mustered out on July 26, 1865. Wallace and the 11th went to the western theater, and in October of 1861, Wallace left the regiment to assume his new rank of Brigadier General.

The brigade commanded by Wallace served at Fort Henry. After the surrender of the Confederate fort, Wallace wrote to his wife, "This is the best thing of the War." Wallace enjoyed the action. He chafed at routine duties.

Moving on Fort Donelson, Wallace commanded a division in the center of the Union line. Colonel Thayer of Nebraska wrote as follows from the Donelson battlefield:

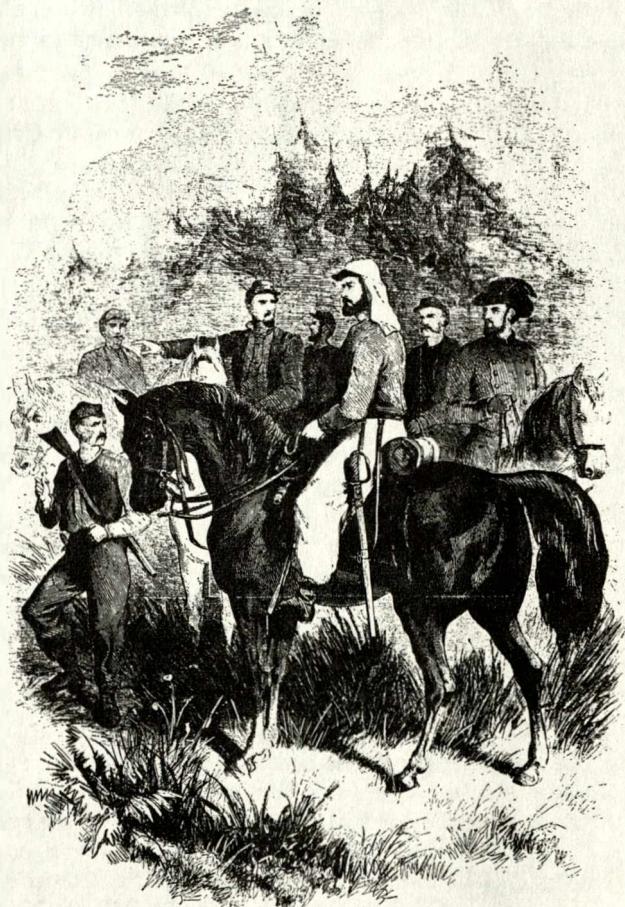
"General Wallace was a princely figure, and he rode a horse that was the pride of the division. As he came riding up, his military accoutrements flashing, he presented a sight that is not seen more than once in a lifetime."

At Donelson, the division under Wallace (which included the 11th Indiana), performed well, and in March of 1862 Wallace was promoted to Major General. At 34, he found himself the possessor of the highest rank then attainable and



**BEHIND THE HEAVY BEARD** was Major General Lew Wallace, a young Hoosier officer of 34 years of age.

Photos courtesy Indiana State Library



**ATTIRED IN THE ZOUAVE** uniform, General Wallace was described as "a princely figure" as he rode his horse among the men of the 11th Indiana Regiment.

the youngest man at that time to hold it. Only two men in the western armies outranked him, Halleck and Grant.

The fighting at Fort Henry and Fort Donelson was but a prelude to Shiloh, and a terrific conflict of arms, followed by years of debate, conflict, and controversy over the way in which Wallace handled his division.

#### THE BATTLE OF SHILOH

During March of 1862, the Federal Army under Grant was assembled in and about Pittsburg Landing on the Tennessee River, nine miles south of Savannah, Tennessee, at which place Grant established his quarters, commuting by steamer each day to the army.

Major General Lew Wallace, with the 3rd Division, was encamped at Crump's Landing about halfway between Savannah and Pittsburg Landing on the west bank of the river. The Confederate Army, under Albert Sidney Johnston, was gathered at Corinth, Mississippi, near the Tennessee-Mississippi line, and about 23 miles southwest of Grant's main force at Pittsburg Landing. General Buell and his army of the Ohio during late March was marching southwest from Nashville and Columbia, Tennessee, to effect a junction with Grant's force.

Early on the morning of Sunday, April 6, 1862, the entire Confederate Army under Johnston made a surprise attack on the Union forces. The key to the Union line was a log meeting house called Shiloh Church and was held by General Sherman. In the north, the battle was designated as the Battle of Shiloh, and in the south the battle was known as Pittsburg Landing.

Grant was at breakfast at Savannah when the sound of heavy firing at Shiloh caused him to hasten to board his dispatch-boat and proceed up river. As Grant passed Crump's Landing, he talked to General Wallace and directed that his division be placed in readiness to execute any orders that might be sent. Grant claimed that upon arrival at Pittsburg Landing, he sent Captain Baxter of his staff ordering Wallace to march by the road nearest the river. Grant sent two other staff officers during the day.

#### GRANT'S ORDER MISTAKEN

Wallace claimed that the order delivered by Captain Baxter was simply to join the right of the Army. As a result he marched west toward Purdy, and after marching many miles, did not arrive on the field until the close of the day. The controversy concerning the movements of Wallace on April 6 caused heartbreak and acrimony for many years after the war.

In 1885, Grant modified to some extent his earlier criticism of Wallace. In brief, General Wallace, whose bravery no one could ever question, moved on the assumption that he would come in on the right of the army.

The severe repulse of the Union forces on that fatal Sunday caused the entire force to be compressed in an area close to the river bank. The arrival of General Wallace in the evening and the forces of Buell on the east bank of the river gave Grant sufficient force to attack and expel the Confederates, and to force a Confederate retreat to Corinth on Monday, April 7.

Early on the morning of Monday, April 7, Wallace, acting under the direct orders of Grant, moved to attack. All through that day the 3rd Division performed valiantly. Despite this the spectre of the misunderstanding at Shiloh was to plague Wallace throughout his service.

His next major assignment was the defense of Cincinnati against the threat of General Bragg. By using his innate charm and persuasion, he enlisted the efforts of 72,000 citizens as militia and laborers to defend Newport, Covington, and Cincinnati. The city and state gave him commendations.

After acting as president of the commission appointed to inquire into the conduct of General Buell, he was requested by Governor Morton to command the troops raised to repel General John Hunter Morgan in July, 1863. The final phase of the General's combat career came with orders on March 12, 1864, to assume command of the Eighth Army Corps and the middle department, with headquarters at Baltimore.

The fine work and planning by Wallace at the battle of Monocacy delayed the Confederate general, Jubal A. Early, and saved Washington from almost certain capture.

#### TRIED LINCOLN'S CONSPIRATORS

The assassination of President Lincoln on April 14, 1865, brought orders to the general to serve as the second ranking member of the commission to try the conspirators. Wallace voted for the conviction of the four accused persons and did not join in the petition for clemency for Mrs. Surratt.

The Lincoln conspirators' trial was followed almost immediately by the trial of Henry Wirz, the Confederate officer in charge of the Andersonville prison pen. Wallace was the president of the Wirz Commission, and for two months heard testimony from hundreds of witnesses. Wirz was found guilty and hanged on November 10, 1865.

A very strange phase of Wallace's life came in November, 1865, when he accepted a commission of major general in the Mexican army. He spent many months in Mexico and after engaging in mining enterprises, bond sales, and an attempt to create a American-Mexican army, finally resigned his commission as a Mexican major general in May, 1867. Part of his claim for expenses, pay, and services due him was finally paid in 1882 by the Mexican government.

Wallace always returned to Crawfordsville and the "tedium of the Law" as he phrased it. This was broken in September, 1878, by the appointment to act as governor of the Territory of New Mexico. The area was three times the area of Virginia, and in a state of turmoil and violence with outlaws and Indians. After a turbulent administration involving controversies with the army, Billy the Kid, and other outlaws, he resigned and returned to Crawfordsville in April, 1881.

#### MINISTER TO TURKEY

President James A. Garfield, having read *Ben Hur*, and feeling under political obligations to Wallace, appointed him as Minister to Turkey in June, 1881, a position he held until March, 1885, when he resigned. At the age of 58 he returned to Crawfordsville where, for the first time in his life, he was not plagued by financial worry. His royalties on *Ben Hur* and other books were coming in. He invested some profits in an Indianapolis apartment house, now the Continental Annex.

The later years of Wallace's life were spent in lecturing on his *Ben Hur*, attending soldiers' reunions, and dedicating Civil War battle markers. Part of his efforts were directed to building "The Study" or "Pavilion" at Crawfordsville.

During the winter of 1904-1905, the General's health failed. Like an Arthurian knight, he had lived with honor; and as he died, he said, "I am going—but I am not afraid."

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Indiana is entitled to two statues in Statuary Hill in the Capitol in Washington. One is that of Lew Wallace, and the other is the man who appointed him as state adjutant general, Governor Oliver P. Morton.

# HOOSIERS

## REACT TO EMANCIPATION

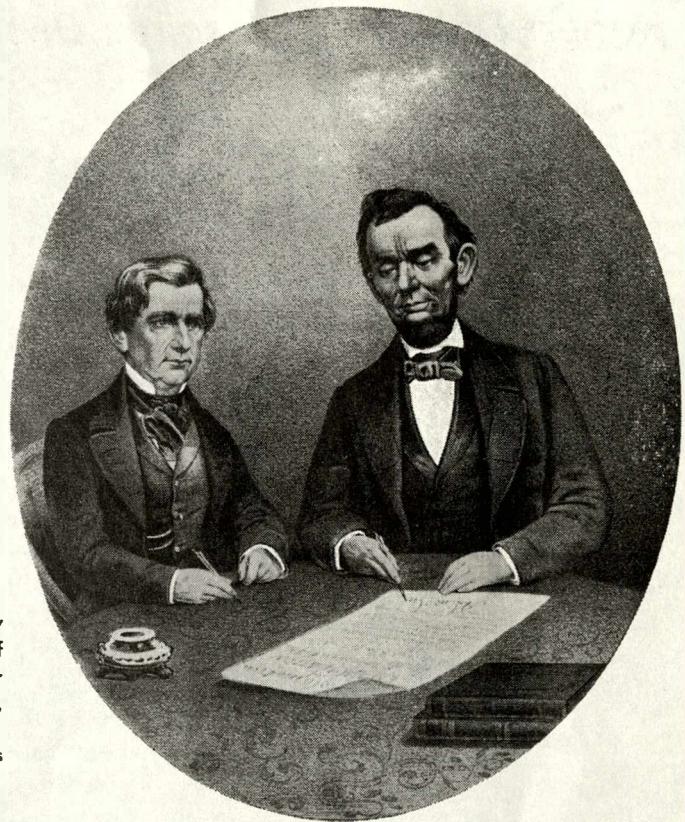
By R. GERALD McMURTRY

*Director*

LINCOLN NATIONAL LIFE FOUNDATION  
FORT WAYNE, INDIANA

**PRESIDENT** Abraham Lincoln and Secretary William H. Seward sign the Proclamation of freedom in Washington, D. C., on September 22, 1862, to become effective on January 1, 1863.

Photo from Library of Congress



WHILE the Emancipation Proclamation is considered one of the great state documents of modern times, it was not readily accepted by conservative Republican politicians of Indiana. The people of the Old Northwest, while they hated the slavery institution, had long had an affinity with the South. The Civil War had vitally affected the economic habits of a large section of Indiana's population, because Hoosiers had enjoyed a lucrative trade with the South. Their grain and hogs had fed the slaves while they produced cotton for their southern masters.

Yet some Indiana leaders like Schuyler Colfax favored a Presidential pronouncement for "Abolition and Confiscation" and General Robert H. Milroy, while in the field, promised to convert his Indiana regiments into "the best abolitionists in the U. S." President Abraham Lincoln was under constant pressure from many abolitionists throughout the United States to emancipate the slaves, and undoubtedly he understood the political conflict in Indiana. The same political situation existed in Illinois.

Lincoln probably knew that Robert Dale Owen had become a pamphleteer for emancipation, and he must have heard how George W. Julian was verbally blasting the conservatives and denouncing the "persistent purpose of the administration to save the Union and save slavery with it." Such Indiana leaders as Caleb Smith, Secretary of the Interior, and Senator Joseph A. Wright were under severe attack by the radicals because they opposed emancipation.

### JOHN Q. ADAMS WARNED OF INSURRECTION

Lincoln finally yielded to radical pressure on September 22, 1862, and issued his preliminary Proclamation of Emancipation. Lincoln, from the beginning of his administration, had been the recipient of much advice as to what policy he should pursue with reference to slavery. He believed slavery to be morally and economically wrong. Yet it was true that

Congress had no constitutional authority to abolish the institution within a state. But what about the executive power to abolish the institution? Interestingly enough, back in 1836, John Quincy Adams warned the friends of slavery that "should any state rise to insurrection because of slavery, or in a matter in which slavery was the exciting cause, the situation would be changed. The National Government would then assume war powers under the Constitution and those powers might include that of the abolition of slavery."

In such a crisis who would exercise the power of the national government? Lincoln believed the power was not legislative but that it belonged to the President as commander-in-chief of the armies of the United States. Lincoln determined to issue the Emancipation Proclamation under the pressure of military necessity. So on September 22, 1862, Lincoln proclaimed:

"That on the first day of January in the year of our Lord, one thousand eight hundred and sixty-three, all persons held as slaves within any state or designated part of a state, the people whereof shall then be in rebellion against the United States shall be then, henceforward, and forever free, . . ."

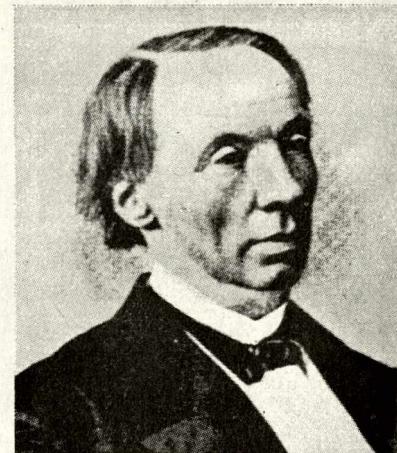
### HOOSIER NEWSPAPERS CONDEMN PROCLAMATION

The news of the proclamation of September 22 came to Indiana as a great political shock. Kenneth M. Stampf in his work *Indiana Politics, During the Civil War*, published by the Indiana Historical Bureau, Indianapolis, has pointed out that Indiana conservative Union papers printed the proclamation without comment; however, the *New Albany Ledger* denounced it and changed its own political complexion by giving its editorial support to regular Democrats. The Indianapolis *Daily State Sentinel* called the President's proclamation "a confession of national weakness, a mortal blow to southern Union sentiment, and the final proof that the war had become a crusade against slavery."

## *Robert Dale Owen Inspires Document;*

### *Conservative GOP Opposes It*

### *Farmers See Loss in Trade with South*



On September 17, 1862, Robert Dale Owen of New Harmony sent a letter to President Abraham Lincoln, urging him to issue a proclamation emancipating the slaves of the South. This powerful document prompted Lincoln to say that "Its perusal stirred me like a trumpet call." Five days later, the Emancipation Proclamation was issued.

Governor Oliver P. Morton and his friends reeled under the political impact of Lincoln's preliminary Emancipation Proclamation. They had no alternative but to give it approval, but the Governor "passed over all moral justification" and declared the act as a "stratagem of war." The Indianapolis *Daily Journal* read into the proclamation "a retaliation for the rebel violators of the Constitution" and a heavy blow to the rebellion.

#### **REPUBLICANS FEARED FOR POLITICAL FUTURE**

To most Hoosiers the issuance of the Emancipation Proclamation seemed to indicate a failure of the administration's war policy. Throughout the state there was a feeling of depression and discontent over disastrous Union defeats. This hostile political reaction to Lincoln's proclamation seemed to confirm Caleb Smith's dire prediction that the measure would cause the Republicans to lose the state. In fact, violent demonstrations were feared by state authorities, but luckily the Democrats were content with verbal expressions of criticism.

On January 1, 1863, the Emancipation Proclamation went into effect. Lincoln had never been more confident of the righteousness of any act in all of his public career. Secretary of the Treasury Salmon P. Chase had provided him with these closing words:

"And upon this act, sincerely believed to be an act of Justice, warranted by the Constitution, upon military necessity, I invoke the considerate judgment of mankind, and the gracious favor of Almighty God."

With a firm hand he signed his full name, "Abraham Lincoln."

#### **HOOSIER RECRUITING CAME TO A STANDSTILL**

But the proclamation brought no joy to disheartened Hoosier politicians, and this feeling was reflected in the war effort. Indiana troops became apathetic; a number of officers

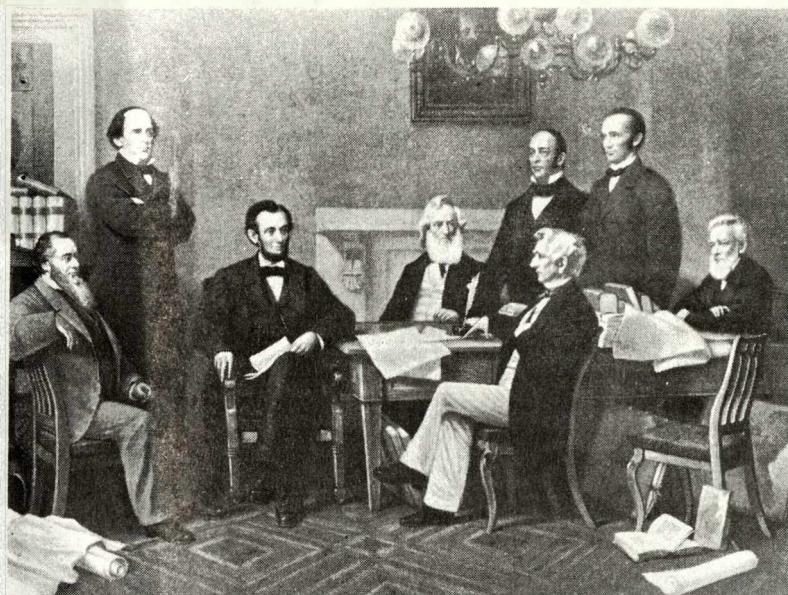
resigned their commissions in protest against the Emancipation Proclamation. Recruiting was at a standstill and desertion increased. There were many soldiers who were willing to fight to save the Union, but wholly unwilling to give their lives for the freedom of the Negro.

One of the chief opponents of the Emancipation Proclamation was Richard W. Thompson, an Indiana lawyer, who served as a Whig Congressman from 1847 to 1849, while Lincoln was a member of that branch of the federal government. At the suggestion of several conservative members of Congress, mostly from the border states, Thompson wrote Lincoln, twenty-six days after the Emancipation Proclamation had gone into effect, a seventeen-page letter setting forth in a masterful way the best arguments which the opposition could formulate against the document. Provisions were made for many signatures to be affixed to the letter.

Thompson's letter met with the general approval of such border state congressmen as Crittenden and Mallory of Kentucky, Etheridge and Hatton of Tennessee, and Harris of Virginia. But after some deliberation it was decided not to send it. This letter which might bear the title "A Still Further Step—Beyond the Law" is a part of the Thompson papers in the archives of the Lincoln National Life Foundation.

#### **FOE LATER PRAISED LINCOLN'S FAR-SIGHTEDNESS**

Even Lincoln heard about the letter and asked Thompson about it. When Thompson explained its general purport, Lincoln replied that he had made one capital mistake, "There were no loyal slave owners in the South." Later Thompson confessed that "he had not seen as far as Lincoln or known as much." After Lincoln's assassination Thompson referred to the issuance of the Emancipation Proclamation as "one of the most important events of modern times and as the most important and far-reaching course of policy Lincoln could possibly have adopted."



This original painting by Francis B. Carpenter of the First Reading of the *Emancipation Proclamation Before the Cabinet* hangs in the White House. Shown with Lincoln are the following cabinet secretaries: Seated: Edwin M. Stanton, War; Gideon Welles, Navy; William H. Seward, State; Edward Bates, Attorney General. Standing: Salmon P. Chase, Treasury; Caleb B. Smith of Indiana, Interior, and Montgomery Blair, Postmaster General.

Charles Roll in his biography, *Colonel Dick Thompson—The Persistent Whig*, another publication of the Indiana Historical Bureau, Indianapolis, stated that Thompson "believed that it (Emancipation Proclamation) was issued at exactly the right time to insure its success, and that it would not have succeeded if it had been done at any other time, in any other manner, and by any other man."

Nation-wide, the immediate effect of the Emancipation Proclamation was not favorable to Lincoln and his cause. Even English newspapers declared that the document "had no legal force" and that "Lincoln and his accomplices had come to the end of their chatter." Editors branded it as "high-handed usurpation" and "pointed out the absurdity of Lincoln's point of view." One English newspaper condemned the Emancipation Proclamation because it ignored a moral principle: "It promised the emancipation of slaves not because freedom was right, but because it was believed that such a move would weaken the enemy."



A Union soldier reads the *Emancipation Proclamation* in a slave's home. This steel engraving dated 1864 was done by Herrick and Watts, published by the S. A. Peters Company of Hartford, Conn., and copyrighted by Lucius Stebbins. The interior of the cabin was described "as true to nature. The stone chimney, garret, ladder, side of bacon, rough cradle, cotton balls all give a correct idea of a slave's home."

Photos from Lincoln National Life Foundation Collection

Lincoln once told his cabinet that his Proclamation of Emancipation was in fulfillment of a covenant he had made with God. But if the Deity approved, Lincoln had little immediate evidence of the fact. The abolitionists were not happy; they thought the proclamation should have been issued sooner and should be applicable to loyal states as well as those in rebellion. The stock market declined, and there were fewer soldiers in the armies after the issuance of the proclamation than before.

Gradually, the states of the Old Northwest as well as the other states of the Union began to appreciate the wisdom of the Emancipation Proclamation. For one thing, it had cut the ground from under the European interventionists. After the Emancipation Proclamation Lincoln was fighting not only for Union but human freedom, and Europe gave heed to the fact. It proved in its over-all aspects to be a great leap toward ultimate Union victory. It was in reality the atomic bomb of the Civil War.

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**FOR ALMOST** 40 years before President Abraham Lincoln issued his Emancipation Proclamation in 1863 freeing all slaves, the Underground Railway system was flourishing in Indiana to help runaway slaves reach freedom in Canada. Indiana played an important part in the Underground Railway system with a network of lines running up the state. Among some of the important stations which concealed slaves by day and transported them in wagons covered over with straw by night to the next station were centers in Evansville, Jeffersonville, Salem, Columbus, Greensburg, Bloomington, Madison, Lafayette, Indianapolis and Richmond. One of the most exciting accounts of an Underground Station is told about the Levi Coffin home at Fountain City in Wayne County. Because his house was the main head-

quarters, he often called it Central Union Station of the UGRR.

Coffin, a Quaker, and his wife "Aunt Katie" fed, sheltered and clothed over 2,000 fleeing Negroes in their home, before they moved to Cincinnati in 1847 to continue their humanitarian work there. Underground stations continued to operate quietly in a state sometimes hostile to Negroes and a state which forbade their admittance in its revised Constitution in 1851.

There was mixed reaction when Lincoln issued his Emancipation Proclamation on September 22, 1862, but the Underground Railroad "carried" its last passenger in January, 1863, when the Proclamation became effective.



**MORGAN'S MARAUDERS** stole a wide assortment of Hoosier property in their pilfering and plundering in southern Indiana, including birdcages, colico, hams, bread, chickens and ice skates!

Photo courtesy Indiana State Library

# INVASION OF INDIANA!

*Morgan's raid brought five days of terror and Hoosiers' only contact with war*

By HUBERT H. HAWKINS

Secretary

INDIANA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

"THE REBEL Cavalry has crossed the Cumberland. Morgan is in Kentucky." In these words the commander of the Army of the Cumberland warned Secretary of War Stanton that the "King of Horsethieves" was raiding again. The telegraph crackled with the alarm. Rumors multiplied: Morgan had 4,000 men!

He had 7,500!

He had no less than 11,000 and six pieces of artillery!

His objective was Frankfort!

He would strike at Cincinnati!

Louisville was the target!

Newspaper speculation contributed liberally to the public confusion. Panic was more than a possibility.

On July 4, 1863, General Jeremiah Boyle urgently requested re-enforcements. The Louisville & Nashville Railroad and Louisville itself were threatened. Morgan was coming with 4,500 troopers. The departmental commander, Ambrose Burnside, ordered the 71st Indiana, a detachment of the 3d Indiana Cavalry and the 23d Indiana Battery, south to Louisville. Burnside's action stripped Indiana of experienced troops.

The cause of all this alarm was the dashing Confederate, General John Hunt Morgan. Born in Alabama in 1825, he had grown up at Lexington, Kentucky, and served his military apprenticeship in the Mexican War. He had established his reputation in the summer of '62 with a successful raid into Kentucky. Later in the year Morgan's Cavalry took part in General Braxton Bragg's futile invasion of the Blue Grass state. In the months following Bragg's retreat to Central Tennessee, Morgan had carried on routine patrol duties.

#### REBEL MORGAN READY TO RAID

Bragg and the Army of Tennessee were in a difficult position. He was confronted by a superior Union force under William Rosecrans which he expected to attack during the summer of '63. He anticipated a coordinated movement against the Confederates in Tennessee by Rosecrans and troops under Burnside in the Department of the Ohio. In order to create a diversion and hamper cooperation between Rosecrans and Burnside, Bragg decided to send Morgan's Division—2,500 strong—on a raid into Kentucky. Morgan, who was never so happy as when on an independent mission, was more than willing. He may have originated the idea.

Morgan started on June 11. He crossed the Cumberland on July 2. In Kentucky, he cut railroads, burned bridges, destroyed military supplies and made a general nuisance of himself. He also succeeded in thoroughly confusing the Union command as to his whereabouts and intentions. By July 8, he was at Brandenburg, some 35 miles downriver from Louisville and ready to invade Indiana. Whether Morgan disobeyed orders in crossing the Ohio is only one of the many controversies relating to the partisan leader.

A detachment had been sent ahead by Morgan to arrange for transport across the river. About two o'clock on the afternoon of July 7 the *J. T. McCombs* ran up to the wharf at Brandenburg and found a Confederate reception committee waiting. Later in the afternoon the *McCombs* was used to intercept a second steamer, the *Alice Dean*. Morgan's ferry service was ready.

#### HOOSIER HOSPITALITY COMMITTEE READY

News of these seizures quickly reached home guard headquarters at Corydon. Colonel Lewis Jordan placed the 6th Regiment, Indiana Legion, under arms. A six pounder field piece was brought from Leavenworth during the night. As much Hoosier hospitality was being readied as the short notice permitted.

A heavy fog obscured the river on Wednesday morning, July 8. Under its cover Morgan began to embark the 2nd Kentucky and the 9th Tennessee. As the fog lifted, the lone Indiana cannon opened fire, sending a shot through the superstructure of the *McCombs*. The rebels soon emplaced their four field pieces and superior fire put the six pounder out of action, killing two of its crew. The first regiments were then put across and drove the Harrison County defenders inland. At this point a small "gun-boat," the *Lady Pike*, appeared on the scene and engaged Morgan's battery of Parrot guns.

Morgan was in a desperate position with his force divided. If the *Lady Pike* could hold the crossing, the raider faced disaster. But after an engagement of an hour, the gunboat steamed away. Morgan resumed the crossing with the utmost haste. About five in the afternoon the *Lady Pike* returned with two armed transports; after a second ineffectual exchange the flotilla withdrew. By midnight the entire division was on the Hoosier shore. The navy had won no laurels at Brandenburg Crossing.

Union Cavalry under General E. H. Hobson had been endeavoring to overtake the elusive Morgan. Hobson reached Brandenburg on July 9 and had to wait for transports.

#### GOVERNOR WANTS SOLDIERS RETURNED

Governor Morton learned of the invasion on July 8 and immediately wired General Boyle at Louisville: "You have all our regular troops. Please state what steps have been taken to arrest the progress of the rebels." General Boyle did not reply. To a third inquiry, he answered: "Morgan is near Corydon, and will move either upon New Albany or into the interior of the state. He has no less than 4,000 men and six pieces of artillery. . . . Your cities and towns will be sacked and pillaged if you do not bring out your State forces." A member of Morton's staff points out that this was "the first official information" the Governor received from the federal authorities. He observed acidly, "The sagacity that warned us to bring out our State forces if we would save our towns from pillage, could only be paralleled by the generosity that accompanied the warning with no offer to assist us even with our own troops."

On Thursday, July 9, Morton issued a general order requiring that all able-bodied white males south of the National Road form themselves into home guard companies and arm themselves immediately. The Indiana Legion, the state militia, was ordered to resist the invasion and assist in organizing the embattled citizenry. General Lew Wallace was recalled from a fishing trip on the Kankakee to aid the defense.

#### SKIRMISH AT CORYDON

After Morgan established his "beachhead," the Harrison County militia fell back on Corydon. A sharp skirmish occurred at noon on Thursday just south of the town. General Basil Duke, Morgan's second in command, concedes that the militia "defended their rail piles resolutely." Three of the Hoosiers were killed and an undetermined number wounded. After being outflanked by much superior numbers, the militia surrendered. Morgan paroled 345.

As early as noon on the day of the crossing, the militia commander requested aid from General Boyle. Although Boyle had several thousand men at Louisville and New Albany, only 20 miles away, he ignored Colonel Jordan's repeated appeals. Boyle was obsessed with the idea that his headquarters was Morgan's primary objective; he was not disposed to relinquish a single rifleman.

Morton bombarded Burnside with demands for help:

Indianapolis, July 9, 1863.

The information here indicates that Morgan will march into the interior of Indiana. Are there no troops in Kentucky that can be spared and sent into Indiana?

Indianapolis, July 9, 1863.

I ask that the Seventy-first Indiana and Twenty-third Indiana Battery, recently sent to Kentucky, be immediately ordered back to this State for its protection—the protection of our towns from burning and pillage. Indiana has repeatedly sent all her troops to protect Kentucky. I now ask the return of some for our own protection.

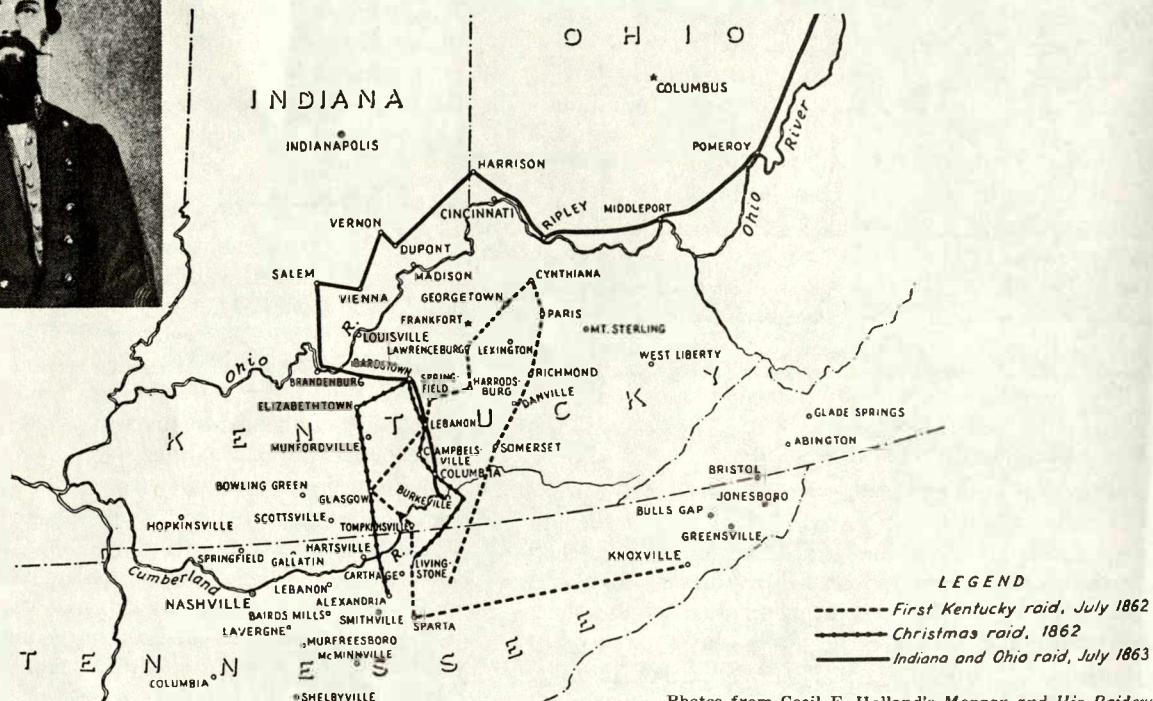
Indianapolis, July 9, 1863.

Can't you send some cannon to this place . . . ? We have nothing here but small-arms. The rebels have occupied Corydon in Harrison County. I am organizing militia as fast as possible.



**FATHER OF THE BURNSIDE** or sideburns, General Ambrose Burnside was from Union County.

Photo from Pictorial History of the War of 1861



Photos from Cecil F. Holland's *Morgan and His Raiders*

**DASHING JOHN MORGAN** (inset) lost his famous whiskers in the Ohio State Penitentiary after he and his diminishing band of raiders swept through southeastern Indiana (see map) and were captured in Ohio.

But General Burnside had accepted Boyle's theory that Morgan was aiming at the New Albany-Louisville area and gave Governor Morton scant comfort:

[Cincinnati] July 9, 1863.

Corydon is 120 miles from Indianapolis, and if Morgan is disposed to go to Indianapolis it will take him two days from Corydon to do it. . . . I am pretty well satisfied he . . . intends to attack New Albany and Jeffersonville.

Burnside did not suggest what might happen to other Indiana towns that were not 120 miles from Corydon.

#### CORYDON OCCUPIED BY CONFEDERATES

After the militia surrendered, the Confederates occupied Corydon, the State's first capital. Morgan made his headquarters at the Kintner Hotel, where, according to tradition, he first learned of Lee's defeat at Gettysburg from the lips of the landlord's daughter. The raiders engaged in both systematic and random looting. Morgan threatened to burn the three mills at Corydon but accepted \$2,100 to change his mind. Many horses were seized. Stores and homes were plundered.

After a few hours' rest, Morgan moved out of Corydon late on the afternoon of July 9. With strong detachments on both flanks the Confederates swept a wide area as they moved north towards Salem. The towns of Greenville, Palmyra and Paoli were entered. Some looting occurred at each place.

A large railroad bridge was destroyed. The track of the New Albany & Salem Railroad was torn up for a considerable distance. The Salem mills were each assessed \$1,000. When one flustered mill owner overpaid the ransom, Morgan returned the surplus with the question, "Do you think I want to rob you?" Again widespread but haphazard looting took place. General Duke describes it in his history of Morgan's Cavalry:

This disposition for wholesale plunder exceeded anything that any of us had ever seen before. . . . Calico was the staple article of appropriation—each man (who could get one) tied a bolt of it to his saddle, only to throw it away and get a fresh one at the first opportunity. They did not pillage with any sort of method or reason—it seemed to be a mania, senseless and purposeless. One man carried a bird-cage, with three canaries in it, for two days. Another rode with a chafing-dish . . . on the pommel of his saddle. . . . Although the weather was intensely warm, another . . . slung seven pairs of skates around his neck. . . . They pillaged like boys robbing an orchard. I would not have believed that such a passion could have been developed, so ludicrously, among any body of civilized men.

As at Corydon some of the householders sought immunity by professing southern sympathies. The troopers listened politely, then took the property with the comment, "You should be glad to give to the cause you love so much."

#### WOULD INDIANAPOLIS BE HIS TARGET?

It was at Salem that Morgan made what was perhaps the major decision of the campaign. Indianapolis was less than 100 miles north. Six thousand southerners were confined there. The arsenal and military supplies stored there would enable him to equip the liberated prisoners. There was the prestige and psychological impact of taking the capital of a northern state. If he had driven north with all haste, Morgan could have captured the town before an adequate defense was organized. But Morgan did not know how weak the Union forces were at Indianapolis and in central Indiana. Audacity was his best hope, but he chose the course of caution. He turned east at Salem, back towards the Ohio.

Meanwhile, General Hobson had gotten his 4,000 Union cavalry across the river on the afternoon and evening of July 9. By 10:00 a. m. on the next day Hobson reached Corydon. He was then 25 miles behind his quarry. He pushed

on and camped that night a few miles south of Salem. Burnside complained to Boyle: "Hobson should be ordered to follow close on to Morgan. . . . I am afraid he is too late as it is. He will be fully 24 hours behind Morgan, and I do not think his pursuit has been rapid." Heavy rains were falling at the headwaters of the Ohio. This was to raise the river so that the Indiana fords would be impassable to the raiders.

#### "WIRE TAPPING" REVEALS PLANS

Morgan left Salem at 2 p. m. and hurried through the villages of Canton and New Philadelphia. He reached Vienna on the Jeffersonville railroad by supper time. The railroad depot and a bridge were burned. Track was destroyed. Morgan's telegrapher "listened in" and learned the whereabouts of the pursuing Federals. He heard that the militia were to fell trees across likely roads and set up ambushes in suitable places. Imitating the style of the Union operators he sent fraudulent messages both ways. Then the line was cut.

The Confederates continued to Lexington, Indiana, eight miles further, where they encamped. A squad of Union cavalry scouting out of Madison wandered into the town during the night but escaped unharmed.

Morgan turned north on the morning of July 11 towards Vernon and North Vernon, an important rail center. When he reached Vernon that afternoon he found that he had been anticipated. Two regiments of the Legion had arrived with orders to "hold the place at all hazards." Morgan demanded a surrender. Upon being refused, he conceded a half-hour truce to remove the women and children. It appeared, however, that taking Vernon might cost more than the weary rebels were prepared to pay; so, leaving a screening force behind, Morgan moved eastward toward Dupont. During the parley, General Lew Wallace arrived with a freshly organized brigade from Indianapolis. Another contingent came in from Mitchell. Morgan's prudent withdrawal had been based on sound instincts.

#### MORGAN CONTINUES EASTWARD

The column halted near Dupont about midnight after doing substantial damage to yet another railroad, the Madison line. A Dupont meat packer, F. F. Mayfield, had, by happy coincidence, about 2,000 prime hams in storage, enough to provide almost every trooper with an individual ham for breakfast. One of Mayfield's daughters gave a group of them a tongue-lashing for their piggish thievery. A southerner replied, "You sure are purty, Mam, when you're in a temper. After we lick you Yanks I'll come back and marry you." The amazing thing about the story is that he did. Their descendants still live around Dupont.

At daybreak on Sunday morning, July 12, the rebel advance took the northward road toward Versailles. Riding into the town about 1:30 p. m., Morgan captured 300 militia. Their officers were reportedly caught in the courthouse planning the defense. Five thousand dollars in public funds was confiscated from the office of the Ripley County treasurer. One Confederate with sticky fingers acquired the coin-silver jewels of the local Masonic lodge. Upon discovering the theft, Morgan, who was a loyal Mason, enforced immediate restitution.

In order to understand the failure of the Unionists to bring Morgan to bay, it must be remembered that the heavily wooded hills of southern Indiana were ideally suited to Morgan's hit-and-run tactics. The miserable roads and scanty rail and telegraph facilities made the movement and coordination of the pursuing troops most difficult. And finally, the Confederates did such an excellent job of gathering up the

available remounts that Hobson's men had to make-do with nags that the rebels disdained, or, in some cases, saddle those discarded by the Confederates a few hours before.

#### REBELS SLEEP IN THE SADDLE

The plight of the southerners was now becoming desperate. They had been averaging 18 hours a day in the saddle for several weeks. The rebel troops were bone weary. Men fell asleep as they rode; some tied themselves in their saddles. The high spirits and sense of high adventure were gone. No longer did the regiments roar out the song, "Here's to Duke and Morgan, Drink Them Down." As increasing Union forces were brought into action, a feeling of desperation and the sense of being trapped permeated the division. Straggling became a serious problem. Exhausted men lay down for an hour's rest and awakened, much later, to find themselves prisoners. Through this sort of attrition, plus casualties, the original command of 2,460 was reduced to less than 2,000 as they neared the Ohio line.

A mounted Legion unit made contact with the Confederate rear guard on Sunday afternoon. They had since followed tenaciously. As Morgan rode out of Harrison on Monday afternoon, the Hoosier militia entered the town from the west. Thus ends the Indiana raid.

#### MORGAN'S FORCE DIMINISHES IN OHIO

Morgan swept the outskirts of Cincinnati, avoiding the traps set for him by Burnside. At the Buffington Island ford he tried to cross the river on July 19. Only the 9th Tennessee escaped into Kentucky when the pursuit came up. After a sharp engagement 700 rebels surrendered. Morgan led the remainder, a little more than 1,000 men, on eastward. Constant pressure prevented more than 300 crossing at another ford 20 miles upstream. A third attempt near historic Blennerhasset's Island failed and Morgan narrowly avoided capture. The hectic flight continued; the remnant dwindled daily. By July 26 he came within nine miles of the Pennsylvania line. Only 250 men remained. His men and horses completely exhausted; hemmed in on every side, General Morgan surrendered. The raid was over.

Morgan and most of his officers were sent to the Ohio State Penitentiary at Columbus. They were subjected to the discipline and treatment accorded criminals. Despairing of an exchange, they planned an escape. On a rainy night late in November, Morgan and six of his captains broke out. Evading the hue and cry, he reached the Confederate lines and was accorded a hero's welcome in the South. Bragg wanted to court martial him, but it was inexpedient to court martial popular idols. Heroes were rare enough. He was restored to a command in the mountains of southwestern Virginia and Tennessee. Morgan came to the end of his road at the mountain town of Greeneville, Tennessee, September 4, 1864. He was killed as he tried to escape from the town during a surprise attack by Union forces.

It is not easy to assess the military significance of Morgan's raid across the Ohio. The post-mortem began immediately and have continued to the present day. On the debit side, it ended in ignominious surrender with the larger part of Morgan's Cavalry killed or captured. Was the diversion he created worth the cost? General Duke claimed that 100,000 men were drawn into the pursuit of Morgan. He did much damage to northern railroads and property. Nearly half a million in damage claims were eventually allowed in Indiana. Most important of all, however, he provided an important lift to southern morale at a critical time. Indiana and Ohio had been invaded. The Yankees had tasted war.

# MORTON'S ONE-MAN GOVERNMENT

*Was the Civil War Governor a Tyrannical Dictator  
or a Loyal, Untiring Patriot for the Union Cause?*

By DR. EMMA LOU THORNBROUGH  
*Professor of History*  
BUTLER UNIVERSITY

He was the Gibraltar of the Government of the West. Stanton and Morton were the imperial wills that held aloft the hands of Lincoln until victory came. So far as deeds and facts could make it so, Morton was Deputy President of the United States in active charge of the Ohio Valley. No man can tell what the results would have been had not some man like our Morton been what and where our Morton was.—Albert Beveridge

**I**N THESE glowing words Senator Albert Beveridge described the services of Oliver P. Morton, Indiana's Civil War governor, in a speech in the United States Senate in 1900. Beveridge's remarks reflect a point of view held by many of Morton's contemporaries and one which was shared by Morton's biographer, William Dudley Foulke, whose two volumes were published a short time before Beveridge made his speech. But during Morton's lifetime there were many who bitterly dissented from this view, and some recent historians have revised traditional interpretations of Morton's role.

Without question Morton was the strongest figure to emerge in Indiana during the Civil War period and one of the most important political figures in the North. He had begun his political career as a Democrat but was an unsuccessful candidate for Governor on the ticket of the new People's (Republican) Party in 1856. He was elected Lieutenant Governor in 1860, but became Governor when Governor Henry S. Lane was elected to the United States Senate.

#### MORTON'S TEST CAME EARLY

Morton's first significant service to the Union cause came while he was still Lieutenant Governor-elect. In the critical interim between the election of Lincoln and the inauguration opinion in Indiana was divided. As the threat of secession hung over the nation nearly all Democrats and some moderate Republicans counselled compromise and conciliation. The Indianapolis *Journal*, organ of the more conservative Repub-



**DETERMINED UNION** advocate, Governor Oliver P. Morton was seldom pictured, either in drawings or daguerreotypes. This is a rare full-length picture of him.

licans, declared: "No rational man can resist the argument against secession as a constitutional proceeding, but any rational man may hesitate before deciding the constitution shall be preserved at the expense of civil war. . . . The main question, therefore, is not the constitutionality of secession but the blood and horror of coercion. . . . Of what value will a union be that needs links of bayonets and bullets to hold it together?"

In a speech at a meeting celebrating the Lincoln victory Morton gave an answer to the question. Said Morton:

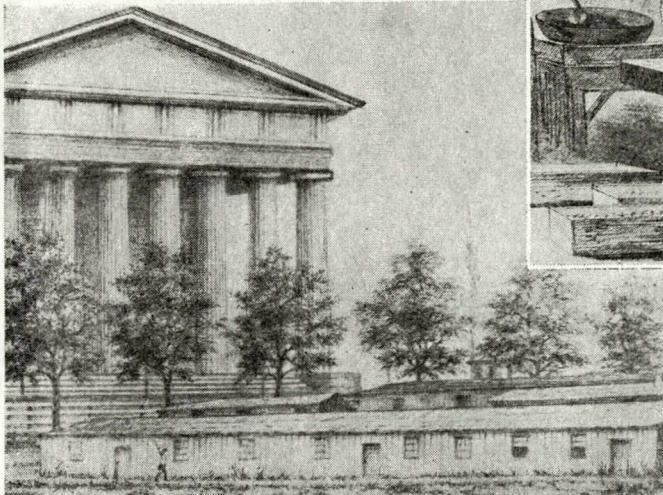
"What is coercion but the enforcement of the law? . . . The constitution and laws of the United States operate upon individuals, but not upon states, and precisely as if there were no states.

"In this matter the President has no discretion. He has taken a solemn oath to enforce the laws and preserve order, and to this end he has been made commander-in-chief of the army and navy. . . .

"If an attempt at secession be made, there is but one of two courses to be pursued, either to allow the seceding state peaceably to go and set up for herself an independent government, or else, by the police or military power of the United States, to compel an observance of the laws and submission to the constitutional obligation. . . .

"Shall we now surrender the nation without a struggle and let the Union go with merely a few hard words? Shall we encourage faint-hearted traitors to pursue their treason, by advising them in advance that it will be safe and successful? If it was worth a bloody struggle to establish this nation, it is worth one to preserve it. . . ."

Morton's speech, which, of course, embodied views similar to those later expressed by Lincoln in his first inaugural address, had an electrifying effect upon Republicans and upon the people of Indiana generally. Vacillation and indecision gave way to resolve to take whatever steps were necessary to preserve the Union.



Drawing by Christian Schrader

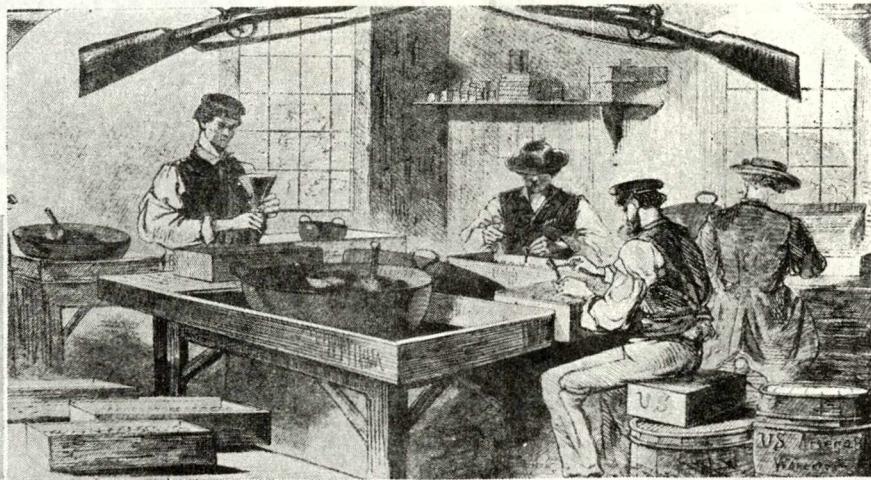


Illustration from Harpers Weekly

**A CARTRIDGE SHOP** on the State House lawn was erected in June, 1861 on orders from Governor Oliver P. Morton who had a number of men working in the foundry and 100 women casting, filling and packing cartridges. Morton moved quickly to supply Union forces with ammunition as early as April 27, 1861. The barracks (left) were eventually torn down and the arsenal moved to the grounds of the present Technical High School, Indianapolis, in 1863.

#### STATE ARMED AND ORGANIZED QUICKLY

Once the war had actually begun, Morton resolutely and even ruthlessly organized the manpower and resources of Indiana in a unified war effort. The officialdom in Washington, D. C. did not move swiftly enough to satisfy the energetic Governor, and he frequently chided the War Department and even Lincoln himself in his eagerness to spur them to more vigorous action. Throughout the war he was unflagging in his efforts at recruitment.

During the early days of the war the number of Indiana volunteers exceeded the number which the Federal government was prepared to receive. Morton also took steps to supply the men who volunteered with arms and clothing and food. He established a state arsenal, and he sought to buy guns and clothing for Indiana regiments in the open market. He created the Indiana Sanitary Commission to procure clothing and sanitary stores which were distributed to soldiers in the field under the supervision of the General Military Agency of Indiana.

The efforts of Indiana to take care of its own men in the field, while patriotic and laudable in intent, nevertheless inevitably resulted in friction with the Federal agencies and officials charged with similar duties. Moreover, there were doubts as to whether there was legal or constitutional authority for some of Morton's actions.

#### OPPOSITION PARTY HEADS LEGISLATURE

The most serious questions as to Morton's conduct as war Governor arose as the result of a deadlock which developed between him and the Indiana General Assembly in 1863. The crisis of civil war did not bring an end to partisan politics but in some respects increased its intensity. In spite of their efforts to unite all supporters of the war effort by adopting the name Union Party, the Republicans were rebuffed in 1862. In congressional and state elections Democrats won sweeping victories. In consequence, Morton was faced with a General Assembly in which Democrats were in a majority. Much of the session was consumed in bitter partisan wrangling.

Democrats indulged in oratory, criticizing the conduct of the war and abusing Lincoln and Morton. They denounced such war measures as the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus and arbitrary arrests, the Emancipation Proclamation, and the arming of Negro troops. The Republicans countered by accusing the Democrats of disloyalty. The Democratic majority also sponsored a series of measures which were obnoxious to the Republicans because they were designed to curb the powers of the Governor.

A legislative crisis was precipitated by a military bill which would have reduced the Governor's power over the state militia. In order to prevent action on the measure, the Republicans resorted to the tactic of bolting—withdrawing en masse so that there would be no quorum present. They went in a body to Madison and informed the Democrats that they would stay away as long as the military bill was before the House. As a result, when the legislative session ended, no appropriation had been made for the following two years.

#### BORROWED MONEY TO RUN STATE

Morton refused to call a special session of the Legislature to appropriate the funds to operate the government. For the next two years he was virtually the government of Indiana, while the other state officers (who were Democrats) as well as the Legislature, ceased to function. Of this period William Dudley Foulke says: "Morton accomplished what had never been attempted in American history. For two years he carried on the government of a great state solely by his own personal energy, raising money without taxation on his own responsibility and disbursing it through bureaus organized by himself." To meet expenses he used income from the state arsenal, secured a grant of \$250,000 from the War Department, and borrowed \$160,000 from the New York banking house of Winslow, Lanier & Co.

Morton's Democratic opponents insisted that the militia bill which had brought on the crisis was entirely constitutional but that its chances of passing in the final days of the session had been slight. Moreover, they pointed out, if it had

passed the Governor could have vetoed it, and then, if it appeared that the measure would pass over his veto, there would have been time to defeat it by bolting. By refusing to call a special session and by setting up his one-man government, they said Morton was flouting the constitution and establishing a dictatorship.

#### ACCUSED OPPONENTS OF DISLOYALTY

Morton defended the Republican bolt by claiming that the Democratic Legislature was bent on "revolution." He asserted that the session was consumed with "the introduction of disloyal resolutions, the utterance of facetious and treasonable sentiments, intended to excite the people against the Government, and destroy its power to suppress rebellion." The adoption of the militia bill, he asserted, would "have been an act of revolution inevitably attended by civil war and a collision with the Government of the United States," and that the only way to prevent the disaster was for the Republican members of the Legislature to withdraw. He insisted that because of the disloyal character of the Democratic majority it would have been futile to call a special session. Thus, the only alternative was for the Governor to take the reins of government into his own hands.

Morton and his fellow Republicans claimed that disloyalty was rampant not only in the Democratic-controlled Legislature but among Indiana Democrats generally. There were rumors that the state was honeycombed with pro-Confederate, Copperhead secret societies. The most publicized of these was the Knights of the Golden Circle. During 1862 there were reports that members of this organization, estimated at about 10,000, were holding secret meetings, collecting arms, and plotting against the government. By 1864 there were rumors of another secret society, the Sons of Liberty, with similar treasonable objectives.

#### TREASON TRIALS STRENGTHEN MORTON

The climax came when a group of men, allegedly members of the society, was arrested by military authorities who were working in cooperation with Governor Morton, and charged with plotting to free rebel prisoners held at Camp Morton and raise a general insurrection. They were brought to trial before a military court in Indianapolis, and three of them were sentenced to hang for treason. After the war, in the celebrated case of *ex parte* Milligan, the United States Supreme Court held that the trial of these men, all of them civilians, by a military court was unconstitutional. But the immediate effect of the treason trials was to discredit the Democrats and to strengthen Morton and the Republican-Union ticket in the 1864 elections. Morton's election to the office of Governor and the election of a Republican-Union Legislature were popular vindication of his policies.

Throughout the war and for many years after Morton's supporters defended his high-handed conduct on the grounds that disloyal activities on a large scale threatened the Union cause in Indiana. A laudatory contemporary biography of Morton declared: "The history of Greek and Roman Republicans, in their worst stages of corruption, scarcely furnished a parallel to the gigantic insurrectionary plots brought to light in the exposition of the 'Sons of Liberty.'" A pamphlet issued by the Indiana Republican State Central Committee in 1876 declared: "It is no exaggeration to say that he [Morton] fought two rebellions—one in the South and one in Indiana." Morton's brother-in-law and private secretary, W. R. Holloway, contributed to this tradition in his history

of Indianapolis, and Morton's principal biographer, Foulke, perpetuated it.

#### MORTON IN PERSPECTIVE

Recent scholars have challenged the tradition that disloyalty was widespread in Indiana and that the secret societies constituted a serious threat, and they have thereby raised questions as to whether there was real justification for Morton's extraordinary and extra-legal actions. One such scholar is Kenneth M. Stampp. In his volume, *Indiana Politics During the Civil War*, Stampp characterizes Morton as "always an opportunist" and "a political genius . . . whose strong will, matchless energy and boundless ambition eminently fitted him for revolutionary times." While admitting that there was a small minority of "peace" Democrats in Indiana—men who wanted peace at any price—Stampp finds that the great majority of Democrats supported the war and regarded the restoration of the Union as the necessary condition for the making of peace.

Democrats were dissatisfied with the way in which the war was being conducted, they were alarmed over the invasion of personal liberties by the Lincoln administration, and enraged by Morton's tactics, but they were not sympathetic toward the idea of a Confederate victory. Stampp also makes it clear that Morton used the charge of treason for partisan purposes. The treason trials of 1864 were timed so that the Republican party could reap full advantage from them in the fall elections.

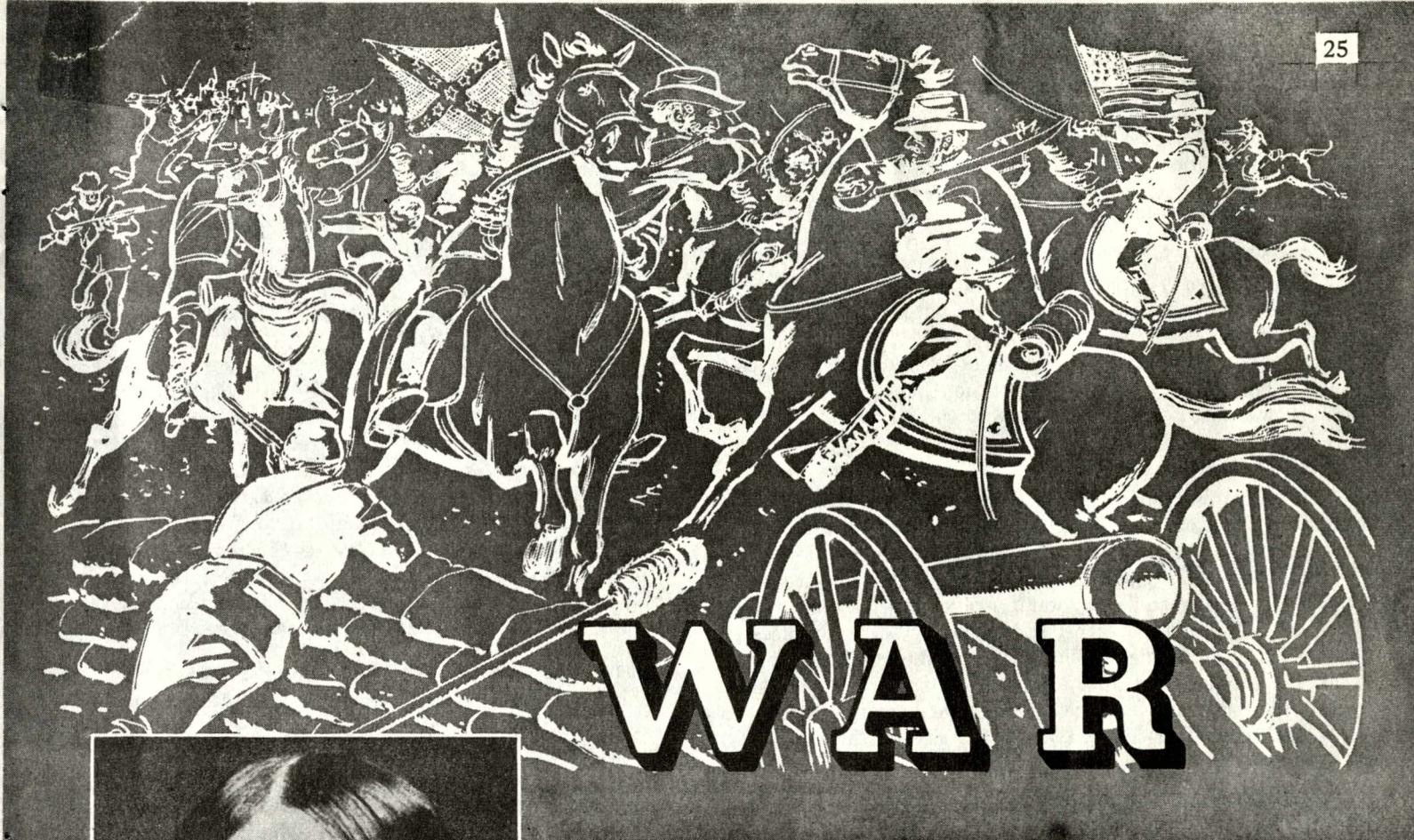
#### MANY STORIES CALLED GOP "MYTHS"

In a still more recent work, *The Copperheads in the Middle West*, which embodies a remarkable amount of painstaking research, Frank L. Klement has unravelled the story of the various wartime secret societies and the plots in which they were allegedly engaged. In his work he scoffs at the tradition that there was disloyalty on a scale great enough to constitute a serious threat and shows that much of the evidence to support the charges in the treason trials was extremely flimsy. Says Klement: "The Republican-constructed myths about Copperhead secret societies served their purposes well." The plots he dismisses as "a political apparition which appeared on the eve of elections . . . a figment of Republican imagination." They had the effect of "stigmatizing the opposition party, and at the same time made a contribution to American mythology." According to Klement, Morton "had no scruples when it came to turning events to the advantage of his party, and his narrow partisanship helped to precipitate a constitutional crisis in the Hoosier State."

#### MORTON COMPARED WITH LINCOLN

Bell I. Wiley, chairman of the Committee on Historical Activities of the National Civil War Centennial Commission, says in more restrained language: "Morton was a patriotic leader, thoroughly devoted to the Union, and he was in large measure responsible for Indiana's enormous contribution to the Northern cause. But he was an ambitious man, impatient of opposition, and he often employed steam-roller tactics against his adversaries. He became a virtual dictator."

In contrast to Lincoln, whose reputation has grown with the years, the luster of Morton's reputation has dimmed. Perhaps it is because Morton, in spite of his undoubted ability and services to the Union cause, lacked those qualities which Lincoln possessed in such great measure—magnanimity and forbearance and political genius without narrow partisanship.



# WAR



CATHARINE MERRILL operated a private school in Indianapolis near a hospital for Confederate soldiers. She taught during the day and nursed at night (see cover).

By DONALD F. CARMONY

Editor, *Indiana Magazine of History*  
INDIANA UNIVERSITY

# AND THE EMANCIPATION OF WOMEN

SIGNIFICANT economic and social changes occurred in Indiana during the Civil War. Their importance, however, has been obscured because historians have principally centered their attention on political questions arising from the war. Moreover, Civil War buffs have "fought" and "refought" many battles and military campaigns of the terrible and costly conflict between the North and the South. This over-emphasis on political and military aspects of the war has produced an incomplete and distorted picture of it. Equally unfortunate, such overemphasis has left students and the general public poorly informed about important economic and social changes which were accelerated by the conflict.

The impact of the war on the economic and social status of women is one neglected facet of the Civil War years. The war was an important factor in modifying the well-established pioneer concept that woman's place was in the home.

Because of the war many women became teachers, dozens became nurses, some entered factories, and others assumed added responsibilities for the management of farms or places of business. Moreover, during the war, women made a significant contribution to its success through their preparation and donation of clothing, food, and other necessities to the men who fought the war.

#### **WOMEN'S DUTIES NEVER ENDING**

Pioneer society meant harsh privations and severe hardships for men, women, and children, but it was especially hard on women. Father generally worked "from sun to sun," but mother's "work was never done." Men's work varied with the seasons, and allowed occasional rest, but women's work was nearly endless and almost without respite. Often the first to be up in the morning, mother was frequently the last to fall in bed at night.

A woman's responsibilities were numerous. Her duties ranged from cooking, gardening, gathering berries and fruits, drying fruits, making marmalades, milking cows and churning butter, making soap and candles, washing and ironing, making and mending clothing, plucking feathers from squawking geese for feather beds, "setting" hens and geese, to working in the fields. The woman of the family did most of the cooking over an open fireplace, and, of course, she lacked modern conveniences. Few mothers gave birth to less than three or four children, and many gave birth to about a dozen or even more.

#### **WAR BROKE MONOTONY FOR WOMEN**

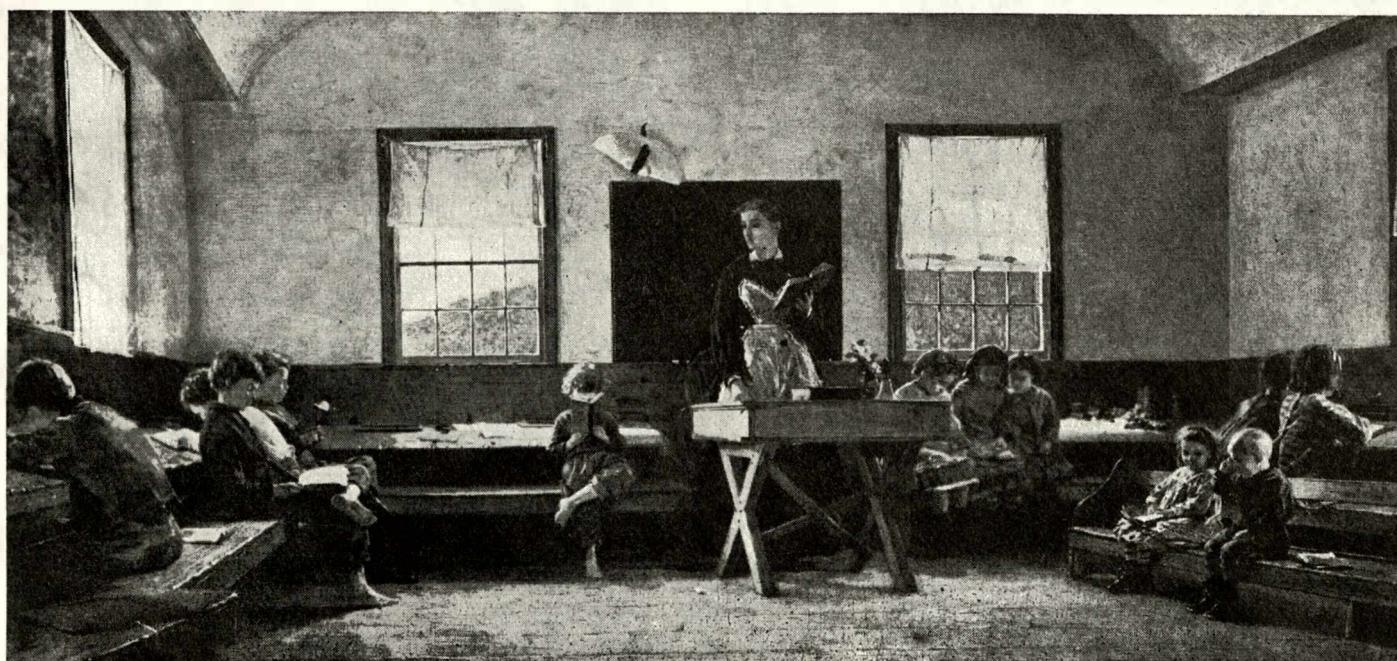
Although the children helped in many ways, they naturally added much to the work to be done. They required frequent nursing and doctoring, and were likely to interrupt their mothers' work for the removal of briars, thorns, and splinters. In addition, the pioneer woman was generous in helping neighbors in distress. As Logan Esarey wrote in *The Indiana Home*: "And all this while she rocked the cradle with one foot. It took the Civil War to break this deadly monotony of women's lives but few mothers of the 'glorious Fifties' lived to see the day."

Unlike today, men normally outlived women in the pioneer era. In the telling words of Professor R. Carlyle Buley: "All too many women lost their bloom with their teens, were tired and run down by thirty, and old at forty. Tombstones in the churchyard bear testimony that many a wife died young, to be followed by a second who contributed her quota and labors, and perhaps a third who stood a good chance to outlive the husband."

The status of women, however, had already begun to change before the Civil War. An easing of their lot came with a general rise in living standards during the late 1840's and the 1850's. Moreover, certain women, especially those brought up in well-to-do homes, were better off than women in general. In addition, some women, presumably largely those who were unmarried, had already become teachers. Julia L. Dumont, for example, was an effective and fondly remembered teacher of Hoosier author Edward Eggleston. Although teaching was the first major occupation outside the home which women entered, as late as 1859 only about one-fifth of the public school teachers were women: Eggleston's novel of Indiana's pioneer schools, it will be recalled, was appropriately named *The Hoosier Schoolmaster*.

#### **ROBERT DALE OWEN FIGHTS FOR WOMEN'S RIGHTS**

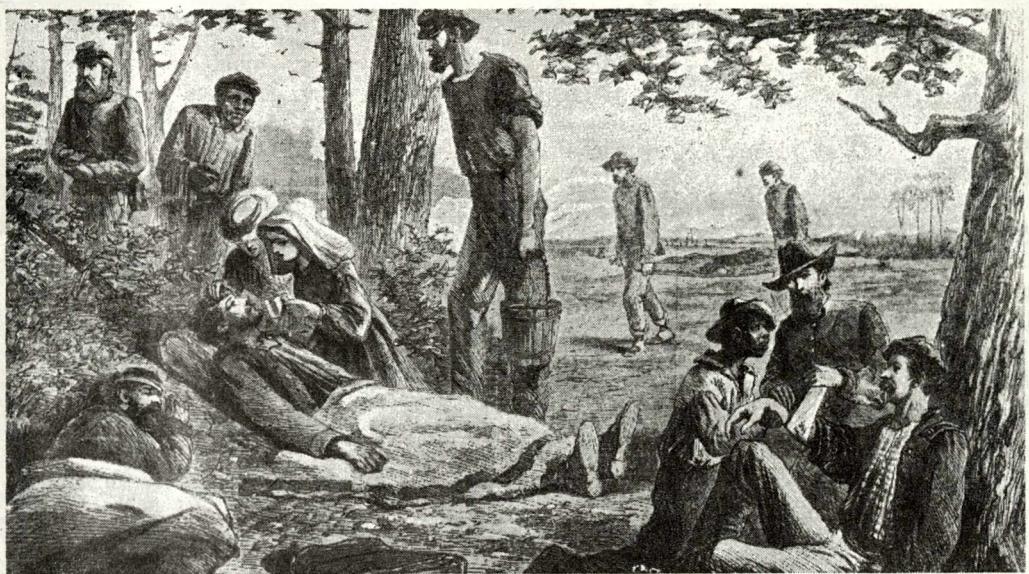
During the 1850's Robert Dale Owen and others won some concessions for women regarding property rights. Heretofore, when a woman married, all of the property she had owned before marriage or acquired after marriage generally became vested in her husband. To have it otherwise, said a member of the convention which framed the Indiana Constitution of 1851, would tend "to make husband and wife twain" rather than to unite them as one. Another delegate explained that woman was not "designed to mingle with us in the busy scenes of life, to participate in its toils, its struggles, and its cares, but to be placed within our homes, to be by our firesides after our daily toil is finished, to welcome us with her smiles, and receive us with that affectionate greeting which alone can make a happy home. This is the position—this the place for which she is adapted." Nevertheless, this delegate



**MANY WOMEN REPLACED** the Hoosier schoolmaster when he went to war. This opened a new avenue for women, particularly single

women. This is artist Winslow Homer's concept of the interior of "The Country School" of this era.

Photo from original painting in City Art Museum, St. Louis



**ON THE BATTLEFIELDS** some women worked with the Sanitary Commissions, administering to the wounded, while others worked in hospitals behind the lines.



**RESPONDING** to Governor Oliver P. Morton's proclamation on October 10, 1861, women formed Sewing Societies to spend one hour a day sewing havelocks, knitting blankets, socks and gloves for the coming winter months.

Photos from *Harpers Weekly*

was willing for women to continue to hold whatever property they owned before marriage. That women might be given the right to vote was a question not even seriously considered by the men who framed the 1851 constitution.

#### TEACHING ATTRACTS WOMEN

During the Civil War there was increased employment of women as teachers in the elementary or common schools of Indiana. In his biennial report for 1861 and 1862 Superintendent Samuel L. Rugg observed that many common school teachers had enlisted in the army and their places were being filled by less experienced persons. (Actually the preparation of teachers in general was then so limited that quite likely many of those said to be less experienced were as well-qualified as those who left their jobs to go to war.) Superintendent Rugg explained that tables attached to his report "indicate plainly that the business of teaching, in the common schools of the State, is passing, by a law of necessity, into the hands of female teachers."

The superintendent found various advantages in this trend. He continued: "We need not lament the necessity which is working this change. I think we should early encourage it, and draw largely upon the female portion of the community for a supply of teachers. With female teachers, their gentleness, patience, and kindness of their dispositions, their sympathies with the feelings, aspirations, foibles, playfulness and vagaries of children, will fit them to become their guides and instructors during the season of childhood."

#### LESS MONEY FOR WOMEN TEACHERS

Later in his report Superintendent Rugg pointed out that the employment of women as teachers lessened school costs, making possible longer school terms. Two years later Rugg repeated this observation and reported that the monthly salary of teachers was \$42.11 for males and \$27.72 for females. Meanwhile, according to Rugg, the proportion of women teachers in the common schools was 22 per cent in 1860, 34 per cent in 1862, and 42 per cent in 1864. He indicated that 3,847 women were employed for 1864, a gain of 1,406 over the preceding year.

The increased employment of women as teachers continued after the Civil War. In his *A History of Education in Indiana*, which appeared in 1892, Richard G. Boone commented that "the most rapid change of the teaching body in this respect came during and just following the civil war. Men were drawn from the class-room and schools, as they were from shop and office and farm, to fill up the soldier ranks." The employment of women, Boone indicates, "was, very naturally, first in the cities." Male teachers, however, remained in the majority in the common schools of the state throughout all or at least nearly all of the nineteenth century. Boone reports that women comprised 42 per cent of the total number of teachers in 1880 and 49 per cent in 1890. Quite likely the proportion of women teachers decreased during the depression years of the nineties.

#### WAR CREATES NEW NURSING ROLE

The Civil War also helped introduce nursing as a new occupation for women. Dozens of Hoosier women served outside Indiana as nurses in military hospitals. They were often from families who lived in much better than average circumstances. Examples of women from important Indianapolis families who became nurses are: Miss Catharine Merrill, Miss Bettie Bates, Mrs. John Coburn, Mrs. Calvin Fletcher, Jr., Mrs. Jane C. Graydon, and Mrs. J. L. Ketcham. Two nurses, Miss Hannah Powell and Miss Asinæ Martin, both of Elkhart County, died while engaged in hospital service at Memphis. In reading letters between soldiers and their sweethearts, one now and then finds interesting passages in which the young women indicate that perhaps they should become nurses. Usually, however, the men at the front, though intensely eager to see their loved ones, convinced their sweethearts that military hospitals were not places for them.

In a brief article one cannot elaborate on the various ways in which the Civil War helped forge new status for women. The rapid increase in the employment of women as teachers was perhaps the most conspicuous change. But the contri-

butions of women as nurses, as workers on farms, as employees in factories and arsenals, and as managers of or workers in shops and stores also helped modify the traditional concept that woman's place was only in the home. The courage, devotion, sacrifice, and resourcefulness of women in keeping families together during the war doubtlessly convinced many—men and women alike—that women merited a somewhat different niche in society than that which had been their lot. Moreover, the fact that Indiana lost approximately 25,000 men as a consequence of the Civil War widowed thousands of women as well as at least postponing marriage for thousands of young women. Sheer economic necessity, combined with despair and loneliness, forced thousands of women into some occupation other than or in addition to homemaking.

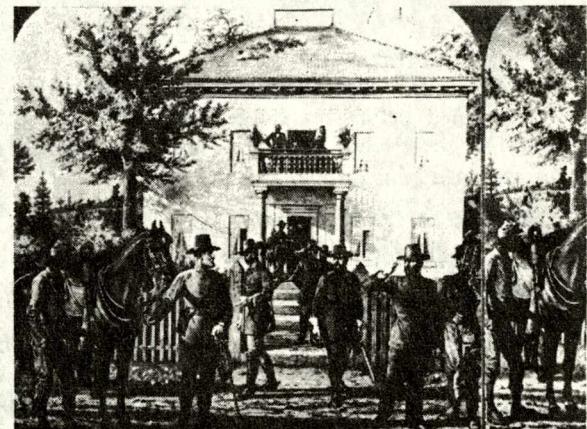
#### OTHER FACTORS CHANGE WOMEN'S STATUS

The Civil War, however, was but one factor which modified the status of women in Indiana during the last half of the nineteenth century. The continued rise in living standards, the rapid growth of railroads, the development of cities, the opportunity for work in factories, increased educational opportunities for both men and women, and other influences were also factors. In any event, during the 1870's and the 1880's the status of Hoosier women was considerably different than it had been during the first half of the century. Without doubt, the Civil War was an important factor in producing such a transition in the status of women of Indiana.

## AFTER APPOMATTOX

By Marie Fraser  
Managing Editor  
*The Indiana Teacher*

**SALUTE TO AN HONORABLE SOLDIER AND ADVERSARY** comes from General U. S. Grant to the man he defeated, General Robert E. Lee at McLean's home at Appomattox Courthouse, Virginia, on Palm Sunday, 1865. Library of Congress Photo



**H**OOSIER boy in crumpled suit of blue, his face showing faint traces of silken blond hair around his ears and down his jaw, passed rations of fresh beef, salt, hard bread, coffee and sugar to the downcast men in gray.

The war was over! But no one—the victorious or the vanquished—was very elated about it. Who could believe that only a few hours before two men had met at the home of Wilmer McLean nearby, and now it was all over?

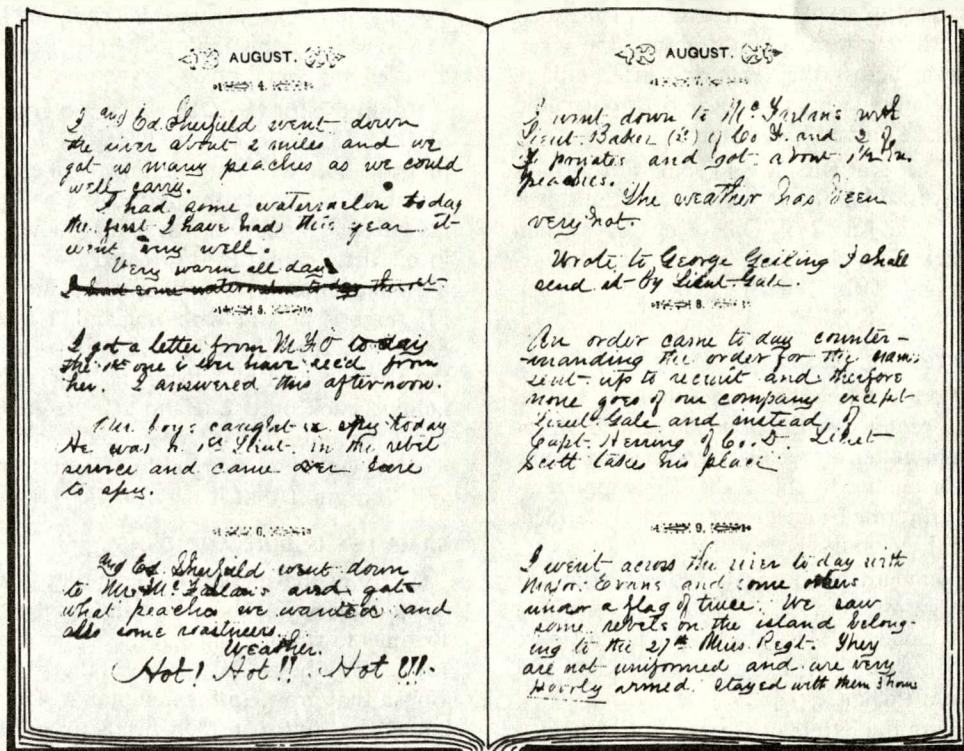
After weeks of parched corn, eggs and chickens stolen from Virginia farms, the men in gray were grateful for the boy's handouts. Few words were spoken between them, but everyone felt easier. Word had come down the line that the Northern general said the "rebs" could keep their horses and mules so that they could start working on their little farms when they got home.

For the Hoosier boy it meant that he could go back to Indiana. Pa would be waiting for him on the farm. His world was bigger now than the tract of farmland in Ripley County. He had been in Kentucky, Tennessee, Mississippi, Georgia and Virginia. His brother Tom had been in Arkansas, Missouri and Kansas. Their older brother had seen the countryside of Pennsylvania and Maryland. If they all came back, they would have much to tell and he particularly would

recount the day that Lee and Grant met at Appomattox Courthouse.

How was he to know that this spirit of peace which permeated the hushed countryside would not live long? Soon Indiana would be split by post-war politics. The issues would be over the enfranchisement of the Negro in the 14th and 15th amendments and the proper punishment for Confederate leaders. Soon his own Governor, Oliver P. Morton, as a member of the United States Senate, would introduce a resolution requiring ratification of the 15th amendment by Southern states as a condition of readmission into the Union. Back home in Indianapolis, many Democrats would resign from the Indiana General Assembly to prevent a quorum when the 15th amendment came to a vote. But eventually, in a special session, such tactics would prove useless and the amendment would be ratified.

True, the war was over and not all the issues would be resolved for all time to come, maybe decades. Perhaps the unity at Appomattox would be short lived. But as one Southern soldier voiced: "We all . . . have one country, one destiny, one duty." The freedoms the founding fathers had cherished were still preserved. There wasn't much to do but go home and try to rebuild on that foundation.



## WAR, WORDS AND WILLOUGHBY

By HAZEL HOPPER

Head Indiana Division  
Indiana State Library

**D**IARIES and letters of Civil War soldiers give vivid pictures of life in camp and of harrowing experiences on the field of battle. Through these contemporary accounts we learn about the real nature of the war, the boredom of the soldiers with the hours of idleness and waiting, illness and death in the camps, army food, the long tiresome marches, the comradeship among the boys and the occasional spot of gayety in otherwise dreary lives. Many a hitherto unknown fact about the war has been gleaned from a letter from some obscure soldier boy to his wife or sweetheart at home.

Both the Indiana Division of the Indiana State Library and the Library of the Indiana Historical Society have a number of fine collections of Civil War letters and of soldiers' diaries. The diary of Aurelius Willoughby, of Madison, of Company H, 39th Regiment, Indiana Volunteers, now in the State Library manuscripts collection, is one of the most interesting and informative of the war diaries. He begins the first of the eleven little volumes: "I enlisted with Captain Thomas Graham about the 20th of August, 1861, in Madison, Indiana."

Willoughby was sent first to Camp Morton in Indianapolis, located at the old state fair grounds, a tract of land now

bounded by Nineteenth Street, Talbot Avenue, Twenty-Second Street and Central Avenue. At the beginning of the war, Camp Morton was used as a reception center and training camp for Indiana soldiers. It was not until early in 1862 that Camp Morton was made a Confederate prison camp.

### WILLOUGHBY LEAVES FOR "SECESH" COUNTRY

On September 6, Aurelius Willoughby and his comrades, while still at Camp Morton, were sworn into the army and the next day marched 3½ miles due east from Indianapolis where they camped in the midst of a large grove of hickory trees. This they called Camp Harrison in honor of their colonel, Thomas J. Harrison. The 39th regiment remained at Camp Harrison until September 22 when they left Indianapolis for "Secesh" country.

The regiment marched with General Don Carlos Buell's army through Kentucky, Tennessee, and northern Alabama, seeing service at Shiloh, Stone River, Chickamauga and participating in the campaign against Savannah. Aurelius Willoughby was mustered out of the service in November, 1864, after having served as quartermaster for the regiment for a time.

His diary gives accounts of fraternizing of the Union and Confederate soldiers. On July 25, 1862, he wrote, "The rebels have been talking with our men all day across the river. Two of our boys swam across the river and after talking with the rebels for about two hours returned to our camp safe. We and the rebels are on very good terms."

Again on July 27: "Lt. Rufus Gale and some of our boys crossed the river today and had quite a chat with the rebels under a flag of truce." On July 29: "One of our boys, John Clemens, while on picket up the river, swam over and exchanged papers with one of the rebel pickets and got back safe."

#### THREE HOUR VISIT WITH THE REBS

Evidently temptation got the best of Aurelius, for on August 9 he wrote: "I went across the river today with Major Evans and some others under a flag of truce. We saw some rebels on the island belonging to the 27th Mississippi regiment. They are not uniformed and are very poorly armed. Stayed with them for three hours."

John McGraw, Richmond, of the 57th Indiana regiment wrote from Chattanooga on October 11, 1863: "Everything is quiet here at Chattanooga. The rebels and us lay here looking at one another with our pickets so close they can talk to one another and exchange papers."

Of unusual interest are the letters of George F. Chittenden of Anderson who volunteered for service in the 16th Indiana regiment (one year service) and was appointed assistant surgeon by Governor Oliver P. Morton. On May 27, 1862, he was mustered in as surgeon of the 16th regiment (three years service) and served with the regiment until February 13, 1864. He was then appointed surgeon of the State Enrollment Bureau, which position he held until the close of the war.

#### SURGEON'S REGIMENT HAS HEAVY LOSSES

Surgeon Chittenden saw service in Kentucky against Kirby, Smith and Bragg, and on August 30, 1862, took part in the battle of Richmond, Kentucky, where his regiment lost 200 men who were killed and wounded and 600 who became prisoners, of which he was one. After the defeat, the prisoners were paroled and sent to Indianapolis where they remained in parole camp until November 1 when they were exchanged and they again headed South. The 16th regiment took part in the campaign against Vicksburg and later was sent to Teche County, Louisiana, in which section it remained for several months, continually skirmishing with the enemy.

As would be expected, many of George Chittenden's letters deal with the health and conditions affecting the health of the soldiers. July 16, 1863, while located near Jackson, Mississippi, he wrote, "The country here is almost destitute of water. . . . There are no streams of water near us. Cisterns have nearly all given out and the soil is so sandy that wells can hardly be made practicable." In the same letter, but dated Vicksburg, July 25, he says, "We have marched through dust nearly knee deep under scorching sun — no water except villainous green stagnant ponds from which our horses would not drink. Yet we are compelled to drink it or famish."

#### DISEASE CAUSE OF MANY DEATHS

After returning to Indiana, Dr. Chittenden wrote on February 26, 1865, "The spotted fever has lately broken out with great mortality in the military camps about Indianapolis. Twenty or thirty have died during the past week. I was out at City Hospital today and saw many cases of it."

James O. Walton of Company H, 10th Cavalry also mentioned the health of the soldiers in his letters to his wife in 1864-1865, saying that many were suffering from mumps, measles and small pox.

Camp life for the 27th Indiana regiment during the winter of 1861-1862 was not too primitive for they were quartered in little huts at Camp Halleck (Hoosier City). Lieutenant Josiah Williams, Putnamville, of Co. I, said in his letter to his parents January 5, 1862, that he was writing at his table in his little cabin. He expressed fear of the consequences of probable intervention of England into the war. He wrote, "If there is no war with England, I think we can whip the Secesh by the 4th of July; but if we do war with her, then the whole world will commence for I think France is only holding back until England gets her foot in it, and Ireland, Hungary and other oppressed nations are waiting for it. But it may yet blow over, although quite a threatening storm and God grant that it may for the present."

#### CAMP LIFE IS DULL AND DRAB

Many of the soldiers tell how they spent the long hours in camp. Amory K. Allen, Martin County, of Company C, 14th Regiment, wrote from Cheat Mountain, Virginia, July 21, 1861, "The boys have been making rings out of the root of a bush that grows in the mountains here called laurel. I don't know what put it in their heads to make rings out of it, but I think the people here make pipes out of it. . . . I thought I would whittle one out and send it to you so you could have it to say I sent you something from Virginia."

It was a difficult task to get the letters from the home folks to the soldiers who were constantly moving camp or were on the march for weeks at a time. It was a problem which had much to do with army morale. George Chittenden wrote from Memphis to his wife, December 14, 1862, "I keep up an almost constant writing to you notwithstanding I have yet heard nothing from you since I left you on the 25th of last month. I know you have written often to me, but Uncle Sam pays little attention to our *mail necessities* down here."



**RATIONS FOR REBS** were vital to a starving, nearly defeated Confederate Army during the closing days of the war. However, Union soldiers' diaries recounted fraternizing of men from the two armies throughout the war.

Amory K. Allen wrote from camp near Petersburg, Virginia, February 18, 1865, "I received a letter from you this morning dated January 22. It has been on the road a month."

#### PAY PERIODS LAG

Catching up with the soldiers to pay them was also difficult. Amory K. Allen on June 18, 1862, wrote, "We will get our pay today. We will only get two months pay now, the last of the month there will be two more months coming to us."

Letters from the folks at home give pictures of how those in civilian life were bearing up under the burdens of war. They tell of the work of such organizations as the Sanitary Commission and the Soldier Aid Society. On April 19, 1862, at a meeting of the citizens of North Madison, Indiana, a Soldiers Aid Society was organized to administer to the sick and wounded soldiers. They pledged themselves to see that the families of volunteers in North Madison and vicinity be provided with the necessities of life during the soldiers' absence. The minute book for the society from April 19, 1862, to December 27, 1864, is in the Indiana State Library.

#### CIVIL WAR COMMISSION WANTS LETTERS

Amanda Chittenden wrote from Indianapolis to her husband, George Chittenden, March 7, 1862, "I was out walking this afternoon and passed the old P. O. It is now occupied as a hospital for the rebels. Some 20 have died there. . . . The people of Indianapolis have their hands full but they (the prisoners) are well cared for and express much grati-

**THE AUTHOR,** Mrs. Hazel Hopper, displays Willoughby's picture, diary, and medal.



fication in the kindness and attention they receive from their enemies."

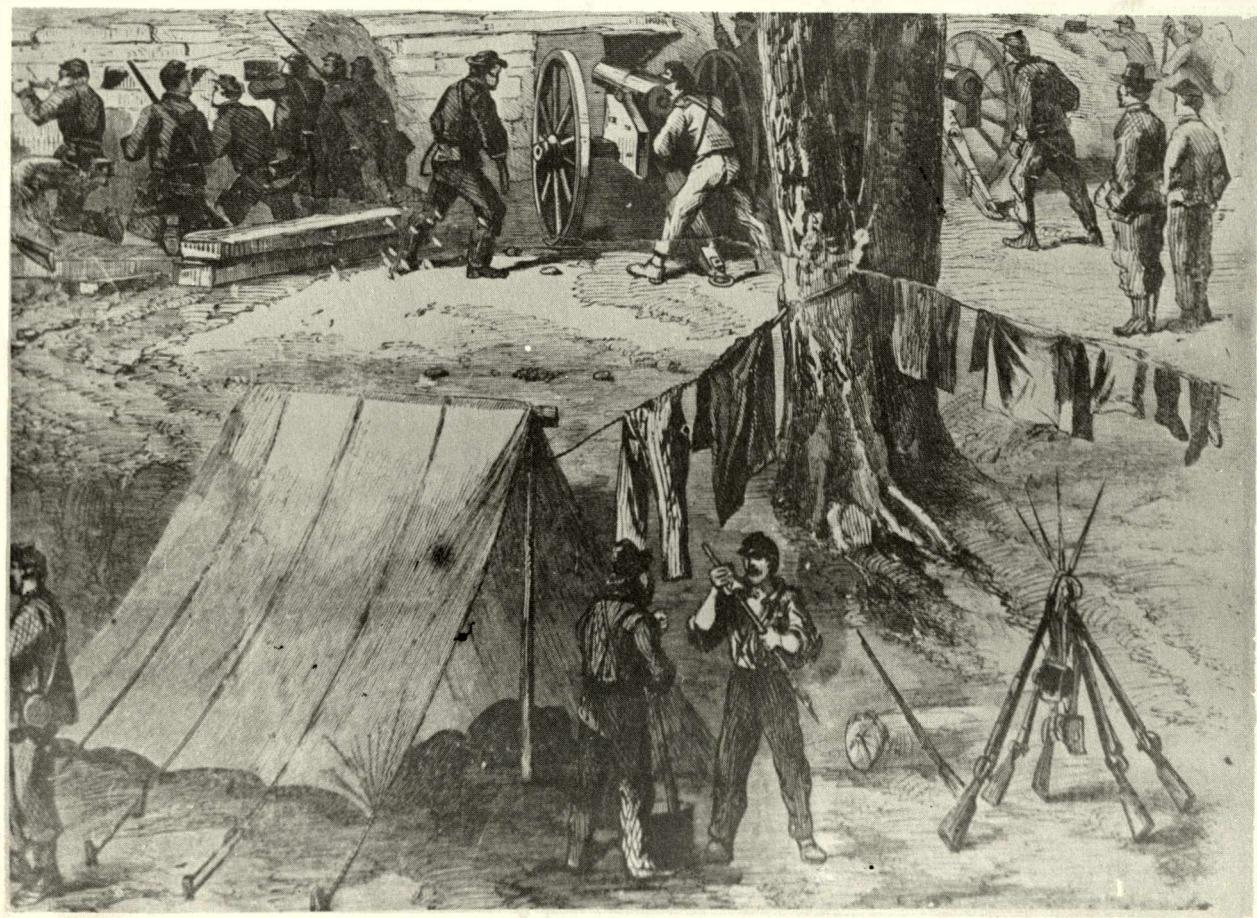
Many Civil War letters and diaries are still in private hands. The Indiana Civil War Centennial Commission has appointed a special committee to collect such manuscripts for preservation either in the Indiana State Library or of the library of the Indiana Historical Society. In cases where the owners do not wish to part with the original manuscripts, arrangements have been made to microfilm Civil War letters and documents and place the film in one of the libraries. One never knows when a letter will give the exact information that the historian has been searching for years to find!

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INDIANA ROOM  
PAMPHLET FILE

INDIANA IN THE CIVIL WAR

BY

WILLIAM H. WILEY

DECEMBER 8, 1924.

REFERENCE  
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INDIANA IN THE CIVIL WAR

A Paper Read at the Terre Haute Literary Club

by  
WILLIAM H. WILEY

December 8, 1924.

**FOREWORD:**-- For a very considerable part of the time during the Civil War in America, so far as Indiana was involved, the caption of this paper might well be changed to read "The Civil War in Indiana". My endeavor tonight shall be to show in what ways, and by whom, in spite of numerour untoward circumstances, our State promptly met every request of the President, and every obligation as a member of the Union; and that, too, without indidious comparisons with other energetic loyal States. As Admiral Schley said at the battle of San-Tiago- "There is glory enough for all."

**CAUSE OF WAR.** The repeal of the Missouri compromise renerved the contest between the North and the South on the subject of the extension of slavery in the United States. The mational democratic convention, at Charleston, South Carolina, in the early summer of 1860, came to a dead-lock on platform and candidates-- one faction, for slavery, nominated John C. Breckenridge, of Kentucky, for the presidency; and the other, withdrawing to Baltimore, put up Stephen A. Douglas for the same office. Abraham Lincoln was the standard bearer for the republicans as we know. Both he and Douglas were pledged to preserve the Union; Breck-enridge would still be loyal, if the national election should go in his favor. After a most exciting campaign, the choice fell to Lincoln. Indiana that year gave him 139,033 votes; Douglas 115,509; Breckenridge, 12,295; and Bell Constitutional Unions, 5,306, or 5,423 over all for Lincoln. On his way to Washington, in February, 1861. Lincoln had explained, in Indianapolis, invasion and coercion; and had given every possible assurance to all parties that his mission was solely and wholly to preserve the Union. Stephen A. Douglas, to his immortal honor, was with him in this high resolve. During the campaign, the writer heard him exclaim, in the presence of 10,00 citizens, in his matchless manner. "Heaven forbid that the Ohio River should even become the dividing line between two sister republic". Before the 4th of March, seven States had seceded from the union, and four more followed soon thereafter. On the 11th of April, 1861. Fort Sumter was bombarded, and the Civil War was on!

**INDIANA TO THE FRONT:**-- The day before President Lincoln sent out the call for 75,00 for 3 months, of which Indiana's quota was to be 6,000 men, Governor Morton had telegraphed the President offering 10,000 soldiers from Indiana to enforce the laws and defend the flag of the country. Within twenty-four hours, vastly more than our requirement under the call had reported to the governor, in Indianapolis; and, during the week, almost 20,00 were at the capital asking to fight. Sergeants from the regular army, in

aid of Captain Lewis Wallace, of Crawfordsville, selected 4,683 from the impatient crowd for immediate service; and, upon the order of the governor, six additional regiments of 770 men each were organized of those in waiting. These also, were sent to the front soon afterwards, on the second call of the government for volunteers, and the State was thus relieved from any assignment by the Secretary of War.

The present strength of a regiment is fixed at 821 men.

CALLS FOR TROOPS:-- It will not be amiss to insert here a table comprising the different calls of the President for troops for the war; and Indiana's quota in each case, as follows;

"By President Lincoln:	Indiana Quota;
"April 15, 1861---75,00, 3 months.-	4,683.
"May 3, 1861---42,034, 3 years	
"July 2, 1862---300,000, 3 years	21,250
"August 4, 1862---300,000, 9 months	21,250
"June 15, 1863---100,000, 6 months	
"Oct. 17, 1863---300,000, 3 years	18,997
"Feb. 1, 1864---500,000, 3 years	12,665
"March 15, 1864---200,000,	13,008
"April 23, 1864---85,000, 100 days	7,415
"July 18, 1864---500,000, 1, 2 or 3 years	25,662
"Dec. 19, 1864---300,000, 1, 2 or 3 years	22,582
Totals-2,702,034	147,512

W.U. H. Terrell, Adjutant, general.

While Indiana, under the many calls of the Government, was thus required to furnish 147,512 soldiers for the war, she actually sent to the front, including 11,718 re-enlistments, no less than 208,367 of her sons to fight for the Union; or, 49,137 more than her share.

LOYAL LEGION It must not be forgotten, in this connection, to include the Indiana Legion, numbering 51,400 men-18 to 45 years of age - organized by the governor, with the approval of the government at Washington. These must take an oath of allegiance to the United States, and , also, to the State of Indiana; and were armed as far as possible like the regular army; and subject to the call of the governor to repel invasion, to put down insurrection and to quell any disorder within the State. These men were recruited from the townships, and the regiments by counties as a rule. Adding these to the regular enlistments, Indiana furnished the number of 259,767 men under arms during the war.

These men were classified into Infantry, 175,776; Cavalry; 21,605; Artillery, 10,986; and Indiana Legion, 51,400. There terms of service were "For the term of three years, 165,717; for one year, 21,642; for nine months, 742; for six months, 4,082;

for 100 days, 7,415; for 3 months, 6,308; for 60 days, 587; and for 30 days. 1,874."

THE ORGANIZATION AND MOVEMENT OF TROOPS.. This vast number of men consisted of volunteers and 10,822 drafted men. They came from all callings in life farmers left their plows in the field; merchants, their goods on the counter; professional men closed their office doors. Schools emptied their halls of students. Butler college sent 157 Union men to the war, and one rebel, who went to his own place. The writer's class started with 26 members, and ended with five on commencement day; and the 5th man excused from the exercises to join the army a month before. The other colleges of the State rivaled Butler, and one surpassed her in the number of enlistments. Our own city public schools marched in a procession, at the close of the term, on the first of February, 1862, and the next morning (Major) Frank Crawford, Captain) George E. Farrington. and (Captain) James B. Harris started for the recruiting quarters. (Captain) Edward B. Allen resigned as County Auditor to organize a company. James H. Moore of the School Board, and former Superintendent, fell in with the procession.

Vigo County with a population of 21,811 raised 4,426 volunteers and 86 drafted men considerably more than one-fifth of all her men, women, and children, under Colonel Charles Cruff commanding the 31st regiment; Colonel George K. Steele, the 43rd Colonel-....., the 71st; Colonel John P. Baird, the 85th; Colonel Robert P. Catterson, the 97th; Colonel Robert N. Hudson, the 133rd; Colonel Charles M. Smith, the 156th, Colonel R. W. Thompson was Provost Marshal of the district, and was busy raising and drilling recruits, and other duties pertaining to his office at camp Dick Thompson, south of the city. Lt. Colonel Topping was killed in battle in the early summer of 1861. Most of these leaders achieved distinction as the war went on. Altogether, our fighting men came in about equal proportion from the different sections of the State in spite of the charge that southern Indiana did not furnish her full share by reason of proximity to Kentucky and the confederacy.

Our soldiers infantry, cavalry, artillery, and marines, were organized into 151 regiments and 26 independent batteries, the few sailors going to the navy as recruits. The numbering of the regiments was begun with the 6th, Ebenezer Dumont, a small man on a very large bay horse commanding in recognition of the five regiments in the Mexican War; and running in order to the 156th. The batteries ran from the 1st to the 26th inclusive. No additional organizations were effected during the war. Those already in the field being kept up to full standard strength by recruits from home as enlistments expired; and deaths occurred from slaughter in battle, or burning fevers in hospital, or starvation in prison. The regiments were largely organized in the different counties of the State; and all were mustered into service and equipped in Indianapolis, at the beginning of hostilities a thriving country town; and by reason of its advantages as a center of distribution for our own soldiers to different points of the

South, the concentration of the vast armies of the northwestern States there for a like purpose, the support of numerous camps for our soldiers and rebel prisoners, hospitals, and arsenals, for nearly five years, the Indiana capital became a veritable metropolis.

THE MARCH TO DEATH AND VICTORY Indiana troops fitted out as fighters to the best of the ability of federal government and the ever strenuous efforts of governor Morton, and uniformed in the regulation blue of the army except Colonel Lew Wallaces Zouaves, who on bended knees were sworn, before leaving Indianapolis to avenge the insult of Capt Jefferson Davis to the 2nd Indiana regiment at the battle of Beuna Vista, were hurried to the front as rapidly as possible, in a number of cases with the minimum of training; and must depend on courage and bravery for victory. This especially was noticeable in several regiments sent to Kentucky to save her from the terrorizing campaigns of Kirby Smith. This was one of the "border States", and voted to remain in the union by 92,365 votes as against 36,975, and the election of nine out of ten loyal men to congress. In his message to the special session of the Legislature in April, 1861. Morton had urged Kentucky to stay in the Union, and promised help in cases of invasion. These came all to soon; and many of our boys were slaughtered by the seasoned troops of Smith and Bragg. About the same time, Sterling Price was plundering Missouri, and headed this way; and must be hurled back. After a long and fruitless chase, the captain of the 9th Indiana battery reported. "We came out of Missouri without money and without Price." A very similar incident occurred in modern times when Woodrow Wilson sent General Pershing into Mexico to capture the bandit "Villa" dead or alive.

The tragedies of war, in those old days, rise before me tonight as a disturbing dream. I see John L. Doyal sinking to his death in the folds of his country's flag, in the Wilderness battle. I see my cousin, Lloyd Upton, hobbling along on crutches for 20 years, pierced in the thigh by the minnie ball of a sharp-shooter. Sqruier and Boleo, and Summers, and Allen Carter dead on Shiloh field. Hall and Frenyear and Tilford dying of a wasting fever far from home, and Robert Walker, broken in health, finishing out a mournful existence. I see Captain Anderson tunneling out of Libby Prison, to fight the rebels anew. Ben French, out of college and with Grant in 11days, at Fort Donelson; and later on escaped prisoner of war, carried into the lines at Vicksburg on a stretcher. The rollicking Joe Gordon, all bespattered with blood and dead at Greenbriar, W.Y. that gentle spirit. Marion Elstun. wounded at Atlanta, and laid to rest at Chattanooga. Yes, and Drum, at Franklin, and Dunbar at Terre Boune, and Keith at Perryville and Neff at Kingston, and Harper at Chickamauga and Hayden at Chickasaw Bayou, and Vance at Paducah, and Warner at Port Republic, and Covington at Dallas, all dead in the flower of young manhood. If the deaths of two dozen men, playmates of his childhood at the old log school house, and chums and classmates at Butler, shall move a young student to attention and concern, what shall be said of the grief, and suffering, and heartbreaks of all Indiana? Of the fathers and mothers the wives and little children, and sweethearts and sisters for the

24,416 dead in battle, worn out with slow fevers, or starved in prisons, an average of 8 1/2 out of every hundred men who went to the southland?

Altogether, Indiana troops were in 322 engagements during the war distributed more widely than those of any other State. They were everywhere in the South, except Florida; in the border states, and all of out territories, from Antietam and Shiloh to Appomattox. Nearly 5,000 of the men in Blue. Our soldiers, were in aid of hurling back the most destructive cavalry charge in all history, under Picket at Gettysburg.

Indiana left her dead in seventeen States and one territory. Three Indiana regiments took part in the first battle of the war, and an Indianian was the first to yield up his life, on the battlefield, for the Union. William T. Girard, of Company G. 9th Regiment, at Laurel Hill. The last battle of the war was fought by Indiana troops; the last gun fired was by an Indianian; the man killed was John J. Williams. of Company B. 34th Indiana. Our boys never faltered at peril. They were trusted in every emergency. Smith's history makes record of one case in particular, out of many similar ones, in which Indiana regulars, with the assistance of the Indiana Legion displayed their loftiest courage and patriotism in defeating the confederate army in Kentucky and preventing it from invading Indiana and Ohio. And, at last, after four weary years of anxiety and fighting, there came from Appomattox the welcome message of peace. Sooner than one would think, the battle-scarred soldiers of the greatest civilian army in the world were marching in grand review through Washington City on their ways to private life. You may be sure that Indiana was there many thousand strong. Jacob Cooper, with a scalp-wound and three years of service for the Union, was there denouncing his own disloyalty at the beginning of the war, and ready to lead in all good works in the old neighborhood.

In due course of time, Major General Lew Wallace in presenting the regimental flags of our soldiers, worn with age, torn by shot and shell, and bespattered with blood to the state, made a remarkable address in praise of their loyalty and heroism. In response Governor Morton spoke most feelingly of the endurance and sacrifices of all Indiana through out the conflict for a united country; and stored the flags away in the capitol, under guard, sacred to the achievements of the men who were without fear and without cowardice.

MAN POWER, HORSE POWER, BATTERY SERVICE.

I confess to have used the multiplication table on some twenty-one of the battles, and sieges, in which our boys were engaged, from a desire to learn the combined man-power, horse-power, and battery service, as below;

BATTLES	REGIMENT	MEN	BATTERIES	DAYS
Atlanta	46	35,420	9	42
Bentonville	18	13,860	1	1
Chickamauga	31	23,870	8	2
Corinth, Miss.	24	18,480	9	48
Dallas, Ga.	28	21,560	0	1
Franklin	21	16,170	4	8
Island No. 10	14	10,780	2	28
Jonesborough	27	20,790	0	1
Kenesaw Mt.	47	36,190	8	1
Mission Ridge	29	22,330	8	1
Mobile	3	2,310	3	15
Nashville	30	23,100	13	2
New Hope Church	17	12,090	61	11
Forward	318	244,860	65	150
Peach Tree Creek	20	15,400	2	1
Perryville, Ky.	14	10,780	5	1
Resaca, Geo.	41	31,570	9	1
Shiloh	15	11,550	2	1
Stone River	26	20,020	5	3
Wilderness	4	3,080	0	2
Vicksburg	23	17,710	1	47
<u>Gettysburg</u>	6	4,620	0	3
<b>TOTALS</b>	<b>484</b>	<b>371,680</b>	<b>90</b>	<b>210</b>

Man-Power	210 days	371,680
Man-Power	1 days	77,052,800
Horse-Power	210 days	6,480
Horse-Power	1 day	1,360,800
Battery-men	210 days	11,520
Battery-men	1 day	2, 419,200

Force of batteries not ascertainable. How incalculable the combined power of all the 322 battles, and sieges!

MONEY FOR SOLDIERS AND THEIR FAMILIES. Besides the regularly authorized soldiers pay of a dollar a day for service, the government, in the early part of the war, gave a bonus of \$100. to volunteers; later, this bonus was increased to \$300.

The different counties of Indiana instituted a system of bounties, according to their ability to pay, for their own soldiers. At the time, I was specially interested in Warren County, inasmuch as I was contributing to her fund rather liberally from a lean term of school at State Line City. In all, the county gave for "Bounties, \$121,986---Relief, \$46,452---Miscellaneous,-----Total \$168,438. Vigo County gave for Bounties, \$316,030---Relief, \$136, 134---Miscellaneous,----Total \$452,173.

The legislature levied a tax of thirty cents on each \$100 to further help the counties with money for 203,724 beneficiaries. A summary of all this vast expense for the war by Indiana shows money.

Paid by counties, townships, cities and town for the relief of soldiers families.	\$4,566,898
Paid for bounties	115,492,876
Paid for Miscellaneous military purposes	198,966
State appropriation for relief of families	1,646,809
Contributed to Sanitary Commission.	606,570
Paid by State and charged to United States	4,373,593
Total amount expended	\$26,885,712

It has been said that every advantage hath its disadvantage. Certain it is that in this case the plan pursued raised up a bond of profiteers known as "bounty jumpers", who kept the poorer counties hard pressed to raise their quotas, and the government out of honest service.

SOME MEN OF THE WAR. It is a hazard in the writer, where so many are deserving, to make selections of some to the exclusion of others, possibly just as efficient and worthy. There seems to be certain men connected with the war, however, whose records merit special mention.

1. GENERAL THOMAS A. MORRIS, in a brilliant campaign, made George B. McClellan commander of the army; and, returning home, built the new State house within the appropriation!
  2. GENERAL BURNSIDE, of Indiana, a gallant and patriotic officer; but slow in moving his troops in several emergencies.
  3. BENJAMIN HARRISON, Colonel, General, United States Senator, and President of the United States.
  4. LEWIS WALLACE, Aide to governor Morton, Colonel of the famous Jouave Regiment, brilliant Major General and the author of Ben Hur and The Fair God.
  5. CHARLES CRUFT. Colonel of the 31st Ind, and courageous General.
  6. THREE MAJOR GENERALS, Milroy, Reynolds, and Wallace.
  7. THIRTY-TWO BRIGADIER GENERALS, twenty-one of whom became Brevet Major Generals
  8. NUMEROUS COLONELS, Brevet Brigadier Generals,
  9. MANY LINE MEN and regiment publicly thanked for conspicuous service.
  10. OUR BRAVE ADMIRAL George Brown, and Commanders Collins and Gwin.
  11. GOVERNORS, Judges, Diplomats, and Cabinet members for Presidents came out of the conflict of arms.
  12. HISTORIAN SMITH speaks in high terms of praise of Generals Hackelman, Reynolds, Milroy, Canby, J. C. Davis, Kimball, and Hovey.
- R. J. GATLING. Another name must be enrolled here, not for what he said for he was no orator, but for what he did for the cause. A quiet, unassuming, little man, he passed the emblems

of the Saviors' death to a waiting congregation on "Alabama street on Sunday morning; and on the morrow, the man of affairs went about his business, soldiers on leave and students went again to camp and to school, the governor's wife and other noble women went to the relief of soldiers in the hospitals, and Mr. Gatling went over to Indiana Arsenal to construct the most destructive weapon of the war the Garling gun.

OLIVER P. MORTON. The master spirit of all these struggling years was Oliver P. Morton; and a short note on his career will very properly be in place here. He was born in Wayne County, Indiana, August 4, 1823; and died in Indianapolis, November 1, 1877, at the age of 54 years. Educated in the law, he was admitted to the bar in 1847. He was an ardent democrat until the rise of the Free Soil party out of the dying Whig party, and a few anti-slavery democrats. He was the republican candidate for governor in 1856 against that able campaigner Ashbell P. Willard, and was defeated by about 6,000 votes. Party manager in 1860 planned to put Morton in the second place on the ticket, which was bitterly resented by him and his friends. A compromise was finally effected with the agreement that, if the party should be successful at the polls. Henry E. Lane would go to the United States Senate; and Morton would take over governorship. Lane was governor three days; and Oliver P. Morton became "the great war governor of Indiana".

I am writing of the governor, as his conduct in office and his after public service showed him to be, in contrast with his great commander-in-chief in the war. It is just to state that both of these men were always in sympathy with suffering; and spared no effort to help the deserving in distress. Otherwise, they were wholly different. Lincoln was gentle and persistent; Morton, pugnacious and persistent, Lincoln, forgiving if the rebels would lay down their arms; Morton, applauding Grants unconditional surrender of General Beickner and 15,000 prisoners of war at Fort Donelson; and with evident satisfaction escorting them, under guard, from cattle cars in the Union Depot to the barracks at Camp Morton. Lincoln, in his second inaugural, proclaiming, "we are not enemies but friends"; Morton, fighting the confederacy to a collapse. Lincoln, a veritable McKinley at Buffalo, in exhaltation of peace and prosperity; Morton, just as ardent an Andrew Jackson threatening to hang John C. Calhoun as high as Kaman for his nullification heresies.

In 1864, he was a candidate for the governorship in his own right; and was strenuously opposed by the democrats, partly on his war record, but chiefly on the ground that the Constitution of Indiana limits the gove nor to one term of four years. He was triumphantly elected over the Hon. Joseph E. McDonald, after one of the most exciting campaigns in the history of the State; finished the war; and resigned in 1867 to go to the United States Senate, where he became ruler of his party as against Roscoe Conkling, of New York and Charles Summer, of Massachusetts. He largely directed reconstruction. He vigorously opposed the

Electoral Commission bill; but, after its passage, accepted membership on the tribunal, maneuvered David Davis off of the Supreme Court into the U. S. Senate, at the expense of Gen. John A. Logan, thereby assuring the selection of Justice Bradley as the 15th man on the jury; and the election of Rutherford B. Hayes President of the United States. Beyond doubt, Morton himself would have been nominated for the presidency in 1876, except for paralysis of the lower limbs ten years before, at the close of the Civil War.

Politically, Morton was a terror to the democrats, using reason and logic, and facing them with all their delinquencies, rather than eloquence and persuasion to defeat them, almost literally tramping them down in their own false notions of governmental management. His friends never wavered in support of his policies, "what does Morton say?" or . we will follow Morton. One authority calls him an American statesman. Another says "During the civil war, he was conspicuous in the cause of his country." A third, in discussing the eminent characters of the war, declares Morton to be the greatest of them all." What our Senator Ralston said recently of Theodore Roosevelt would apply equally well to Oliver P. Morton; He drove directly at the object he had in view, a long lines of his own choosing. He did not look to others for leadership. He went in front.

WOMEN IN THE WAR. These were very much like the men in their loyalty to the cause. In the "Knights in Fustion",. Mrs. Bowles and some others were constantly spying on Union soldiers; and furnishing the knights of the Golden Circle with arms and ammunition for barn burning and murder.

On the other hand, the vast majority was symbolized by Lucetta Whitaker, who traveled alone in the night miles and miles, encountering danger of every character to warn Union men of impending trouble; and making herself truly valuable to the community. The women gave up sons, husbands, brothers and sweethearts to maintain the integrity of the nation, and the union of States; and themselves ploughed the fields, gathered the hay and corn into the barns, wintered the stock, and kept the home. And withal, these brave souls found time to send packages of needful articles to friends and relatives on the battlefields of the South. In many cases, the women of our cities and towns gave of their jewels to the war, and of their time to the relief of distress in the hospitals. No man hath to this day fully measured the sacrifices of our Indiana women in the Civil War.

SANITARY COMMISSION. The sanitary commission took its beginning at the battle of Fort Donelson in 1862, two years before the great Red Cross movement in "merica, headed by Clara Barton. Under the initiative and direction of Governor Morton, supplies and food were hastily sent to the wounded and hungry; and a few noble women volunteered their services as nurses to the sick and dying. Learnage and distress were alleviated so much as possible with the limited facilities at the time available. The governor himself visited the camp; and did what he could personally

in the relief of suffering, and encouraging the despondent. From this humble beginning great sums were off leisure of their country; and the State found good use for more than half a million of money.

OBSTRUCTIONS AND OPPOSITION.

1. The legislature of 1861 handicapped the Governor at the very beginning of the war through defection of the democrats in breaking a quorum.
2. In 1863, the Union men of the legislature broke a quorum to prevent the democrats from passing a measure to hamper the Governor in the exercise of military authority in the State. He was thus left without money to conduct the States business, either civil or military. In this dilemma, he took advantage of the precedent of his predecessor, Governor Willard, under quite similar circumstances, and borrowed half a million of money to meet necessary expenses. This was a personal loan.
3. There was still a small contingent from the South, amongst our people, which was not fully weaned away from slavery. These people were content to see the Union restored with slavery. Their forbears believed that way. Indiana had gotten into the Union with three slaves within her borders. Strenuous efforts had been made by Governor William Henry Harrison, and emigrants from Virginia and Kentucky, "to make Indiana Territory slave for a time!" Three different petitions were sent to Congress in favor of the project one is the Senate and two to the House, but without avail; and this largely through the opposition of John Randolph, of Virginia (Creekey-Vol.1-P.52)
4. On account of his stupidity, or his fear of violating the constitution, or his sympathy with slavery, President Buchanan, from the date of the election of Abraham Lincoln until his inauguration on the 4th of March, 1861, following, had permitted all of the military equipment and army stores of the government to be moved south of Mason and Dixon's Line. This gave the South a great advantage at the beginning of the war; and it was well nigh the close of the second year, say Grants' victory at Fort Donelson in February, 1862, before the Union army was in full military strength. His condition of affairs encouraged, in Indiana especially, a rising "peace party", fortunately never fully organized, and treated here incidentally with the Knights of the Golden Circle, which declared the war a failure, favored letting the confederacy succeed, and advocated the establishment of a republic in the Northwest, independent of the East.

It was at this stage of the game that Governor Morton ventured to give advice to the President. In a long and pungent letter, he declared the movement for a northwest confederacy must be broken by securing entire control of the Mississippi River. Very soon, the "peace party" and the "Knights" were horrified to see Grant bombarding Vicksburg, Admiral George Brown waging a terrific battle with confederate gunboats, and Admiral Farragut maneuvering to enter Mobile Bay.

The "peace party" made one more demonstration. Thousands were in assembly on the State House grounds listening to written addresses in criticism of the government, State and national when a troop of cavalry suddenly appeared on Illinois Street. At the same time, infantry blocked the west avenue of retreat. And at the moment, a rumor became current that the big guns at Camp Morton were trained on the grounds. The meeting broke in a panic. The out-of-town guests hurried to the trains hotly pursued by soldiers and the police. Then occurred "the battle of Pogue's Run" the most ludicrous incident of the war. Where did the "peace party" get all those guns, and revolvers, and Bowie knives, if not from the Knights?

5. Without doubt, our most serious obstruction during the progress of the war was to be found in the malcontents known as "copperheads" butternuts, "traitors" in thoroughly organized into groups and companies, as Knights of the Iron Hand, and Knights of the Golden Circle, or Sons of Liberty. Even anarchy must follow forms, and obey leaders, to be effective. They had their temples in most parts of the State, with headquarters in Indianapolis. They drilled at midnight called together by signal "O-A-K-houn" - repeated from stations most dolefully in session, they fomented "a distinct separation of neighborhoods differing politically". They made plans for committing "petty crimes and lawlessness". Their mission was barn burning and murder. The members chosen by lot to personally commit these dastardly outrages on the community. Governor Morton and some friends were due to start south on an errand of mercy to our soldiers. At the last moment, the Governor must take a later train. The regular train was wrecked at Sullivan, Indiana, and amongst other, Miles J. Fletcher, Supt. of Public Instruction, was killed. About this same time, our own congressman was proclaiming scandalous things about our government, and discouraging our soldiers in the field. Our United States Senator, Jesse D. Bright, had already been expelled for disloyalty. Clement L. Vallandigham, of Ohio, the "Supreme Grand King" of the Golden Circle had been put out of the House of Representatives; and was finally, by the order of the President sent to the Rebel lines.

To the honor of the Confederacy, he was forced to flee to Canada. Rebel hated Copperheads worse than they hated Union soldiers.

In course of time, one "Oliver Tapp," the tin peddler of Caroline Brown's Knights in Fustian, and employed by the governor under still another name, came from a temple in Kentucky, and for awhile was one of the trusted agents in the Indiana district. Coming at last under suspicion of the leaders as a spy, he came near losing his life at the shades of Death, south of Crawfordsville, but through the shrewd management of a young Union girl escaped to betray the chiefs to the civil and military authorities at the capital.

In a trial before a military commission, J. J. Bingham, Andrew Humphreys, Horace Keffren and J. B. Wilson (Adj, Gen.) were permitted to turn states evidence. W. A. Bowles, L. P. Milligan, and Stephen Horsey were sentenced to death, and Andrew Humphreys to life imprisonment. H.H. Dodd, the active head of the order, through carelessness on the part of the guards escaped to Canada without trial. These men from different sections of the State, and aided by sympathising neighbors members of the Circle, had raised \$500.000 as war fund; and had smuggled into the state an immense equipment labeled "Nails", "Hardware" and "Sunday School Books", with which to carry on their work of destruction. After much difficulty and long delay, these fellows were pardoned by President Johnson. In the meantime, the cases came before the Supreme Court; and a decision rendered to the effect that the military tribunal acted without jurisdiction. But the impending fate of the leaders had scared the whole order into silence; and blasted the hopes of the "peace party", and ended the agitation in favor of a northwest confederacy.

6. RAIDS AND RAIDERS. At one time, Kentucky was practically overrun by guerrillas; and these outlaws finally were able to cross over into Indiana at Newberg. About 30 men, under the leadership of one Adam R. Johnson. They paroled sick soldiers in the name of the Confederacy, stole a large quantity of army stores, and terrorized the inhabitants along the border. Col. Wilder and Col. Gavin happened to be at home on furlough; and upon request of Governor Morton, led several regiments of the Loyal Legion to a speedy victory. As they started to action, the governor said "Shoot to kill; I do not want such robbers as prisoners".

In June, 1863, Capt. Thomas H Hines, of the Confederate cavalry, with a small company, made the second raid into Indiana for plunder. He got some five horses from Union men was chased by the Loyal Legion, and in some three or four days lost most of his command, and barely escaped capture himself.

Morgan's Raid, with 2,000 "terrible men" ended that kind of trouble for the state. If it had been political, I would say that it was a whirlwind campaign through Indiana, with defamatory speeches from the rear platform of a special car! As it was General Morgan replaced his broken down horses with good ones, displaced a good deal of property of our border counties; and within a week , was chased out of the State by the Loyal Legion and the Union men along the Ohio river.

Claims for damages to the amount of \$497,399,21 were presented to the governor; and a commission allowed the amounts following to the various counties affected by the raid;

Harrison County	\$81,710,90
Floyd County	\$11,188,71
Washington County	\$85,613,33
Scott County	\$42,031,43
Jefferson County	\$47,388,31
Jennings County	\$59,187,66
Jackson County	\$792,50
Ripley County	\$40,609,25
Dearborn County	\$43,415,42
Marion County	<u>\$1,661,97</u>
<u>TOTAL</u>	\$413,599,48

"These claims were finally adjusted by the state, the General Government, after years of haggling, reimbursing the State for a part of them."

7. THE DRAFTS. Toward the close of the war, volunteers were coming in rather slowly; and the government instituted a system of drafts, three of the, to fill up the ranks in the army. This was a huge blunder so far at least as Indiana was concerned. She was far in advance of her quota in volunteers for the war; besides, if there had been any real demand for more troops, we could quickly have sent ten regiments of the Loyal Legion to the field, which by the way, we had done several times before in emergencies, and furnished the government with a better fighting force than that of the 10,822 secured by the three drafts, 1st, 3,003,-2,183 used; 2nd 12,474,-6,215 used; 3rd, 2,424- 2,424 used. This plan would have saved Uncle Sam a vast amount of expense in Indiana alone, much of indignation on the people at the prolongation of the war, and serious conflicts and near riots in thirty counties of the State. By reason of large bounties and great enthusiasm for the war, many of the counties escaped one, or all, of the drafts. Vigo was caught for 86 men. A farmer over in Marion County, with the heavy spring work just coming on, and lacking 60 days of 45 years of age, buried his son on the 17th of March, and was ordered to war the next day. He paid \$ 1.000 for a substitute, who was in the service of the government just ten days when the

war closed; and who never got beyond Indianapolis.

THE OUTCOME. I am writing some conclusions on the war. There came out of it two classes of results, those in which the whole country shared, and those to be credited to Indiana alone; and for obvious reasons, must be treated here jointly.

1. Monuments quickly rose to the heroism and sacrifices of our soldiers. As a rule, these were erected by counties of the State, and paid for by them, as tributes to the memory of their own boys in blue. Princeton, Noblesville, Greencastle, Michigan City, Logansport, Mishawaka, Elkhart, Fort Wayne, Jasper, Winchester, Valparaiso, Delphi. and Warsaw are among the county seats supporting fine shafts, or memorial halls. Vigo County has spent some \$20,000 for a beautiful monument at our Court House, which must be fenced in to protect it from vandals and inconoclastic relic hunters. Dedicated to our citizen soldiery, in several respects the greatest monument in the world, is the one located on the "Governor's Circle" in Indianapolis. Agitation for its erection was begun by former Governor Morton and the Grand Army of the Republic as early as 1880. The legislature of 1887 made an appropriation of \$200.00 for the enterprise; and the work of construction begun in 1889. At the laying of the corner stone, many notables of the entire country were present, including the President of the United States! Its entire height is 268 feet; and it is well worth ones time and expense in traveling many a mile to examine and admire its immensity, and the rare harmony of its proportion.

2. GRAND ARMY POSTS. Organizations of veteran soldiers of the war were promptly organized in many parts of the State. These were to keep up the comradeship of the old days; to look out for the civic rights of their fellow; to help care for the widows and orphans of dead comrades in the preservation of the Union; and to endorse such institutions as those at Knightstown, and Lafayette, and Marion.

3. TRAMPS. Little, if anything, was ever heard of the tramp until after the close of the Civil War. The nomadic life of the army, and the practically free victualing of the soldiers fastened on many chiefly men without home ties, a continuation of an aimless existence. William Cooper, who worked on the farm only when his father compelled him to do so, broke out of the guard house at Camp Morton; and, if yet living, is wandering over the country, subsisting on the dole of charity of the back door variety.

4. SOLDIERS HOMES. Lack of time for proper elaboration.

5. PENSIONS FOR SOLDIERS The great Pension System of the government very promptly and very properly came out of the war.

6. MEMORIAL DAY came out of the war; and now, every 30th of May, we scatter flowers from the Wabash River bridge, fire guns over the little iron shields at Woodlawn, visit the circle of graves of veterans on the hill in Highland Lawn, sing America and the Starspangled Banner, applaud an eulogy on our dead heroes, and lower to half mast the American Flag on every school house.

8. DISTRIBUTION OF OFFICES. Out of the war came a great change of programme by the politicians in the distribution of offices throughout the State. Democrat or republican, the candidate must be an old soldier. Relative merit sometimes failed of its proper weight in the contests. In one case, the most competent civilian in the county with a party average of 300, gained office by 6 votes over an inferior man who, nominated by a trick, had lost an arm in a threshing machine!

9. ON RELIGIOUS CONDITIONS. Much has been said, and written, on the influence of the war on religious movements. It modified slightly some of the antagonisms of protestant denominations; but failed to heal the breach between the congregations of the North and the South of two or three of the most prominent organizations in the country. The morale of the people was visibly lowered. It was the incipiency of commercialism in this country. Inflation and speculation became rampant for some seven years, when everything went to chaos in a day. We had been living, during the war, on parched barley coffee, lye hominy, and sour baker's bread with gold at 2 83, calico at 55¢ a yard, and a charge of 25 cents for changing a five dollar bill; and when profiteering lost its prestige it took John Sherman till 1879 to bring us to our senses in the resumption of specie payments.

9. WHAT OF EDUCATION? The cities of the State began to take on new life educationally about the year 1860; and persisted in growing slowly and steadily throughout the years of the war. The rural districts and small towns did not accomplish so much; but managed in most cases, with their little public money, to conduct short winter schools. The writer remembers of one good four-months' term in 1861-62 in District No. 3, Brown Township, Hendricks County, at \$1.25 a day, the teachers out \$2.00 a week for board, and performing his own janitor's services. But the General Assembly, on the 6th of March, 1865, passed the Revised School Law of Indiana, out of which our great system of education has grown. We may justly claim some of the honor in this educational advance, for the leader of the movement was the Hon. Baskin E. Rhoads, representing Vermillion County in the legislature; later a citizen of this city, and dying a member of the Terre Haute Literary Club. And there are still left a few of the men of vision who began immediately and persistently to carry out the provisions of that wise legislation. Only one really great impediment other than testing the constitutionality of the law, has been placed in the way of most satisfactory progress. The colleges of the State, time out of mind, had been carrying "preparatory depart-

ments", and receiving much revenue from the enterprise. The authorities of these schools were loth to abandon the custom. They claimed superior preparation for work over desultory study at the homes of prospective students. But the town and city superintendents, after many a combat, finally substituted our great High Schools for local progress and preparatory departments in the colleges.

10. WHAT OF LITERATURE? History, Novels, War-Poetry, Religion Politics, and Science came out of this great conflict. Lack of time for details.

11. It brought forth a horde of profiteers and adventurers "carpetbaggers" from the North to overrun and discourage the South; and impede progress in the rehabilitation of that section of the country. Their final upset came none too soon. And at last, there has come out of the war a Union restored, and a new South. Many efforts and advances were made by the government, and by the people, to restore harmony, and mutual effort in the common cause of prosperity for all; and with moderate success. Real progress came with the advent of the kindly spirit and hopefulness of McKinleyism, when "the Blue" and "the Gray" finally concluded to fraternize, when General Joseph Wheeler and Colonel Theodore Roosevelt marched shoulder to shoulder up the hill at Santiago. Further progress in the unification of our whole country may be seen in the great iron mills of Alabama the governor of Mississippi getting a new vision in the government of his people, a strange upset in the politics of Texas, first premiums for the country in the raising of swine by Tennessee, and an income tax from North Carolina rivaling prosperous northern States.

WILLIAM H. WILEY

Terre Haute, Dec., 8, 1924.

MORGAN'S RAID

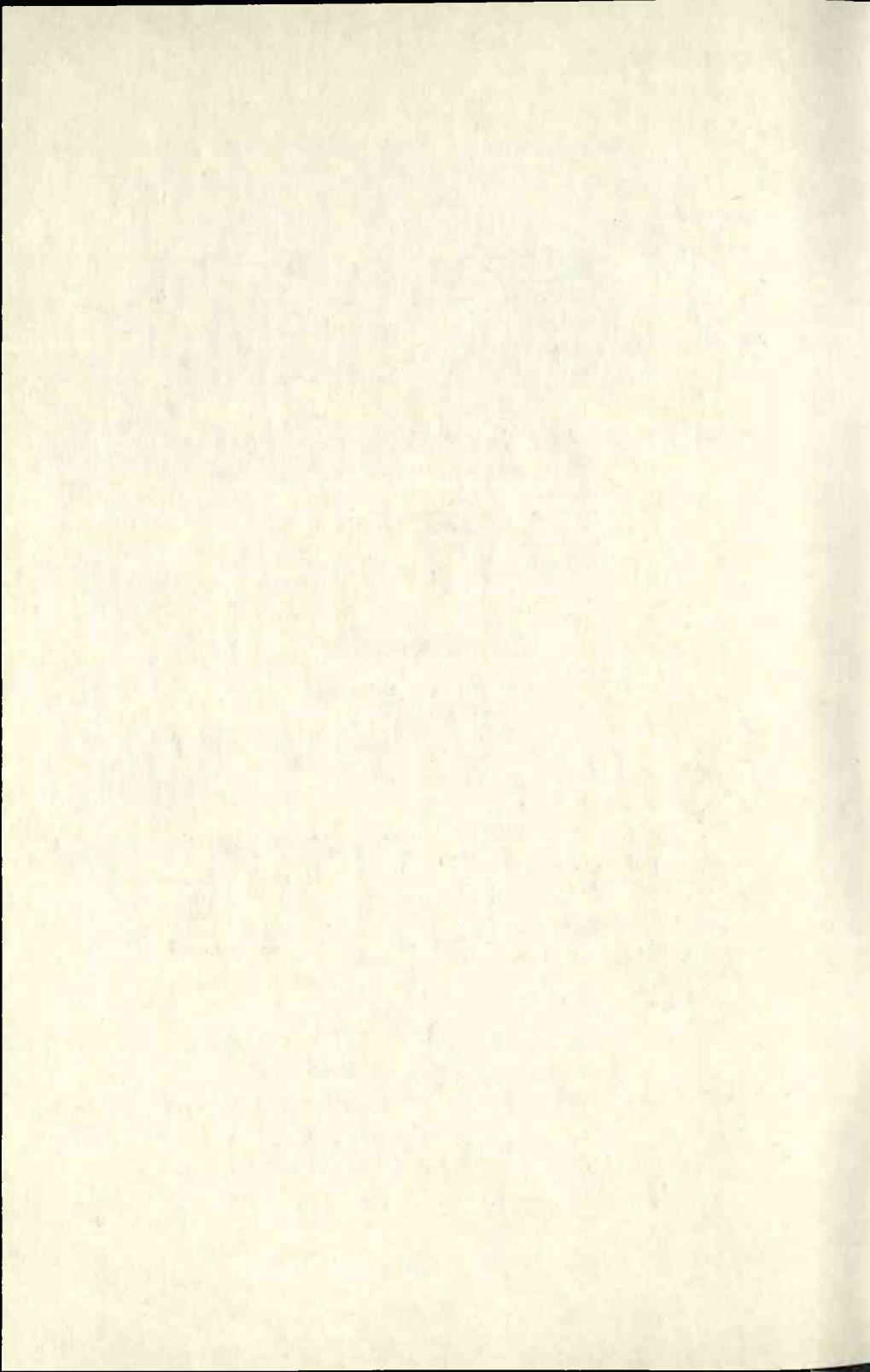
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# Morgan's Raids in Indiana

by

Louis W. Ewbank

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Vigo County Historical Society



# MORGAN'S RAID IN INDIANA

BY

LOUIS W. EW BANK

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When the first white men, explorers, fur traders and missionaries, visited the district now called Indiana, they found that the Indian Tribes who had dwelt here had been driven to the West by the Indians of the West and  
the tributaries were numerous and powerful.

#### FOREWORD

No decisive battles of the Civil War occurred on Indiana soil. However, John H. Morgan, famous Confederate cavalry leader, invaded Indiana in July, 1863. The following narrative of his daring raid through parts of Kentucky, Indiana, and Ohio, by Louis B. Ewbank, originally appeared in the INDIANA HISTORICAL SOCIETY PUBLICATIONS. The publisher has graciously granted permission to reprint the account.

The Boards and the Staff of the Public Library of Fort Wayne and Allen County present this historic episode with the hope that it will be interesting and informative to Library patrons.

It sometimes seems to me that we have lost sight of the services rendered by our forefathers. And yet so terrible the Indian warfare was, that before the white man had possession, the savages who went to the Great Lakes and Canada in the second war with Great Britain, the troops who served in Mexico, the scores of regiments that marched east and west in the war of the Rebellion, and the thousands of soldiers and sailors from Indiana who have maintained the honor of our country on sea and land, afford a frank record for the writer of history or romance.

But the battles of the Indian Wars were fought in the depths of a wilderness, before Indiana became a State, and the battles beyond her borders at which the troops of Indiana have taken part belong to the local history of other States.



When the first white men, explorers, fur traders and missionaries, visited the district now called Indiana, they found that the Indian Tribes who had lived here, had been driven to the West by the Iroquois. The valleys of the Wabash and its tributaries were doubtless the scenes of many a dark tragedy of invasion, battle and massacre long before the dawn of written history in that region. Under French protection the Tribes returned to their old homes, from 1712 to 1720. After the American settlers came, the Indians fought with them, and they fought with each other; and at Laughery Creek, Mississinewa, Pigeon Roost, Tippecanoe, and elsewhere, the unbroken forests of Indiana witnessed deeds of blood called War. And at Vincennes the flag of Britain was displaced by the flag of the Republic by an act of War. From time to time Indiana has sent her sons to battle beyond her boundaries. And not to mention the Indian warriors bred on her soil before the white man took possession, the rangers who went to the Great Lakes and Canada in the second war with Great Britain, the troops who served in Mexico, the scores of regiments that marched east and south in the war of the Rebellion, and the thousands of soldiers and sailors from Indiana who have maintained the honor of our country on sea and land, afford a fruitful theme for the writer of history or romance.

But the battles of the Indian Wars were fought in the depths of a wilderness, before Indiana became a State, and the battles beyond her borders in which the troops of Indiana have taken part belong to the local history of other States

and Countries. Nearly all of the history of War in Indiana, so far as it relates to the invasion of the State by hostile troops, can be told by reciting the events which occurred in a few counties of Southern Indiana in a few weeks—one might almost say a few days—in the summer of 1863, when John Morgan, as he was familiarly known, made his celebrated dash across the State.

Border warfare by the inhabitants on either side of the Ohio river had been known even before organized warfare began. Not long before Fort Sumpter was fired upon a citizen of Indiana who was accused of aiding a fugitive slave to escape was decoyed to New Albany, where he was seized by some policemen from across the river, taken to Louisville, and placed in jail. Upon a demand being made for his release he was spirited away to Brandenburg, forty miles down the river. Two or three hundred citizens of New Albany organized a rescue, armed themselves, and started for Brandenburg in a steamboat. The prisoner was carried to Elizabethtown, thirty miles southeast of there, before the steamboat arrived. But upon a threat to burn the town of Brandenburg unless he was produced, he was brought back from Elizabethtown, and surrendered.<sup>1</sup>

And a year before Morgan's invasion,—at about noon, on July 18, 1862, to be exact,—a band of thirty mauraders, under the command of Adam P. Johnson, a noted Kentucky guerrilla leader, had seized a ferry boat and crossed the Ohio river at Newburg, in Warrick county, ten or twelve miles east of Evansville, and assumed to "capture" the town in the name of the Confederacy. These mauraunders plundered the houses and stores, seized whatever arms and ammunition were found, and paroled in the name of the Confederate States

<sup>1</sup> Morgan and his captors, page 115.

the Union soldiers, to the number of seventy-five or eighty, that they found in the hospital. They escaped across the river into Kentucky, with all the plunder they could carry. The only casualties were the deaths of two residents of Newburg, who were seen in consultation with the raiders, and were killed by the citizens after they had left, on suspicion of having invited them over. The answer to this raid was swift and terrible. Two days afterward ten companies, organized in different parts of the State and officered by volunteer soldiers at home on leave of absence, were in Evansville, mustered into the United States service for thirty days. They were quickly organized as the Seventy-Sixth Regiment of Indiana Volunteers, and were sent across the river with orders to drive out the Rebel bands from Henderson county and three adjoining counties, shooting down all guerillas in arms and all making resistance, and to take no prisoners. Within a few days the troops reported that they had chased the guerrillas out of that part of Kentucky.<sup>2</sup>

The next invasion of Indiana occurred in June of the following year. General John H. Morgan's men, collectively and in detached bands, had become famous for partisan warfare in Kentucky and Tennessee, raiding towns, holding up and robbing trains, destroying railroad property, and committing deeds of violence amounting to plain highway robbery, except so far as they were excused by a state of war. Captain Thomas Hines, of the Ninth Kentucky Cavalry, was one of the celebrated guerilla leaders in Morgan's band. Early in June, 1863, he obtained permission from General Morgan to take such of his men as were best mounted, and scout north of the Cumberland river.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>2</sup> Smith's History of Indiana, pages 360, 361.

Adj't. Gen. Terrell's Report, Vol. 1, page 146.

<sup>3</sup> Morgan's Cavalry, page 430.

On June 13th, 1863, he advanced with 120 men to Elizabethtown, Kentucky, forty miles southwest of Louisville, where he plundered the citizens, and broke open the safe of the Adams Express Company, and stole the contents. He then stopped a south bound freight train loaded with horses, and after taking 120 of the horses set fire to the train and fled. His company was pursued by Federal troops, and part of them were captured, with some of the stolen horses.<sup>4</sup>

Finding Kentucky too warm for him, he resolved to cross over into Indiana and "stir up the copperheads," as General Basil Duke expressed it.<sup>5</sup>

Two days after the raid on Elizabethtown, sixty-four of these men<sup>6</sup> reached the Ohio river, forty miles northwest of Elizabethtown, and about half way between Louisville and Evansville, which were the nearest points on the river reached by railroads and telegraph lines. At five o'clock on Thursday morning, June 18, they crossed on<sup>7</sup> wood boats into Perry county, Indiana, at Flint Island, between Rome and Cannelton,<sup>8</sup> swimming their horses twenty or thirty yards across the only part of the shallow channel which the horses could not wade.<sup>9</sup> They were not in uniform, but were dressed in ordinary clothes, each man carrying two revolvers,

<sup>4</sup> Louisville Journal, June 15, 1863.

New Albany Daily Ledger, June 14, 1863.

<sup>5</sup> Morgan's Cavalry, page 431.

Madison Courier, June 25, 1863.

New Albany Daily Ledger, June 22, 1863.

<sup>6</sup> New Albany Daily Ledger, June 22, 1863.

Indianapolis Journal, June 23, 1863.

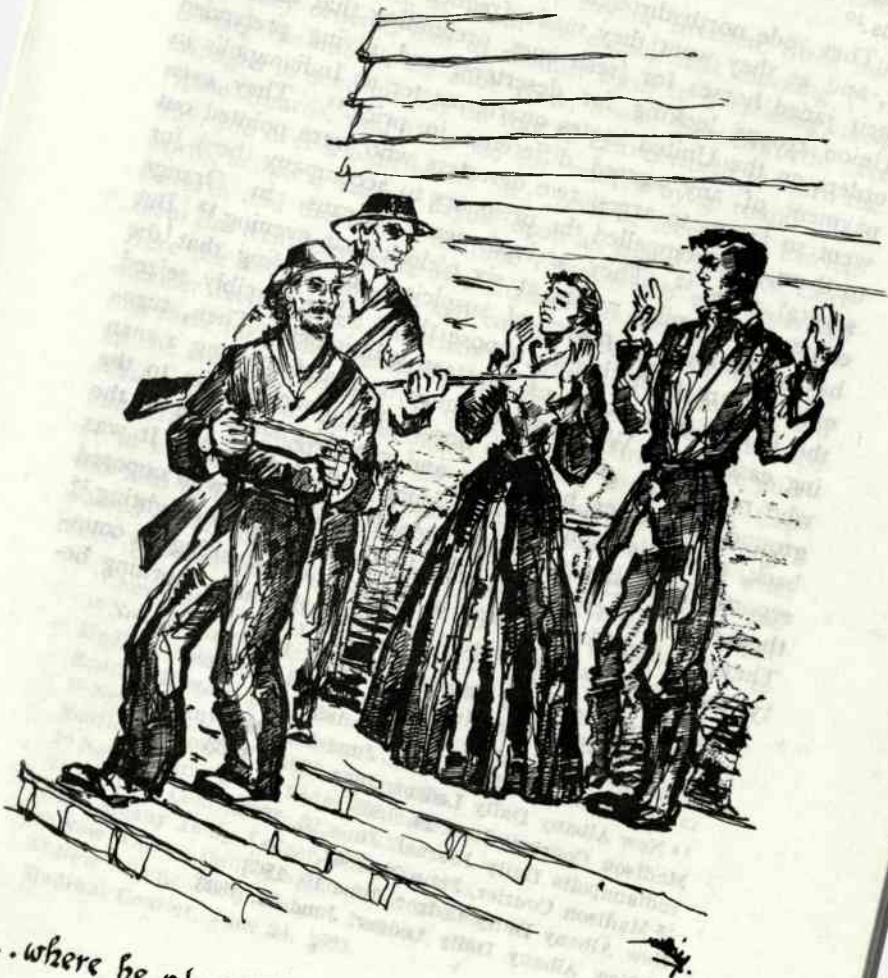
<sup>7</sup> New Albany Daily Ledger, June 22, 1863.

<sup>8</sup> Indianapolis Journal, June 23, 1863.

Madison Courier, June 24, 1863.

Smith's History of Indiana, page 373.

<sup>9</sup> New Albany Daily Ledger, June 19, 1863.



...where he plundered the citizens.....

while they also carried a medley of muskets, rifles and shot-guns.<sup>10</sup>

They rode north through Perry county into Orange county, and as they went they made frequent stops to exchange their jaded horses for fresh ones, pretending that they were Union troops looking for deserters, and giving pretended orders on the United States quartermaster at Indianapolis in payment of any agreed difference in price.<sup>11</sup> They even went so far as to arrest two deserters who were pointed out to them, and compelled the prisoners to accompany them for several miles.<sup>12</sup> They arrived near Orleans, in Orange county, fifty miles north, at six o'clock that evening.<sup>13</sup> But having become an object of suspicion and finding that the militia were gathering to oppose them, they forcibly seized the horses of a party of fourteen militiamen. Then, turning east to the Washington county line, and meeting a man who refused to give up his horse, they knocked him to the ground, and when he got up and ran they shot him in the back, and killed him,<sup>14</sup> after which they fled south. It was reported that they wounded three of the militia who opposed them,<sup>15</sup> but later reports said that there was no fighting.<sup>16</sup> They reached Hardinsburg, in the edge of Washington county, twenty miles southeast of Orleans, the next morning be-

<sup>10</sup> Indianapolis Daily Journal, June 23, 1863.

<sup>11</sup> Smith's History of Indiana, page 372.

<sup>12</sup> Indianapolis Journal, June 23, 1863.

<sup>13</sup> New Albany Daily Ledger, June 19, 1863.

<sup>14</sup> New Albany Daily Ledger, June 19, 22, 1863.

Madison Courier, June 24, 1863.

Indianapolis Daily Journal, June 23, 1863.

<sup>15</sup> Madison Courier, June 20, 1863.

New Albany Daily Ledger, June 19, 1863.

<sup>16</sup> New Albany Daily Ledger, June 22, 1863.

fore daylight. Seizing more horses, they rode south toward Leavenworth, twenty-five miles away.<sup>17</sup>

Coming to the residence of Bryant Breeden, three miles from Leavenworth, at about ten o'clock that morning (Friday) they ordered him to conduct them to a crossing, mentioning the mouth of Blue river, above Leavenworth. He managed to send his boy on foot to Leavenworth to warn the Home Guards, and then led the raiders by a round about way, and over a bluff where they could be seen from Leavenworth, across a shallow bayou, upon an island between Leavenworth and the mouth of Blue river, which was separated from the Kentucky shore by a channel too deep for fording.<sup>18</sup> Here the militia came up and cut off their retreat, while the steamer Izetta, which had chanced to be at Leavenworth and had there taken on a small cannon and some gunners, steamed up the river and opened fire on them.<sup>19</sup> Three of the guerrillas were killed, one wounded and two drowned.<sup>20</sup> Captain Hines escaped across the river, either by swimming<sup>21</sup> or in a skiff.<sup>22</sup> The lieutenant in command took off what was said to be the only white shirt in the rebel company and waived it in token of surrender, and fifty-four men were taken prisoners.<sup>23</sup> The captured horsemen were found to

<sup>17</sup> New Albany Daily Ledger, June 20, 1863.

<sup>18</sup> New Albany Daily Ledger, June 22, 1863.

Madison Courier, June 24, 1863.

Smith's History of Indiana, page 373.

<sup>19</sup> New Albany Daily Ledger, June 20, 1863.

Smith's History of Indiana, page 373.

<sup>20</sup> New Albany Daily Ledger, June 20, 1863.

<sup>21</sup> Madison Courier, June 24, 1863.

New Albany Daily Ledger, June 20, 1863.

<sup>22</sup> New Albany Daily Ledger, June 22, 1863.

<sup>23</sup> New Albany Daily Ledger, June 22, 1863.

Madison Courier, June 24, 1863.

have considerable quantities of calicoes, besides new clothes, hats, boots and shoes, which they had stolen when they raided Elizabethtown. And when the bodies of the two drowned Rebels were recovered, two days later, \$200 in "green backs" (U. S. treasury notes) was found in the pockets of one and \$480 in the pockets of the other, which was believed to be part of the money stolen from the express company at that place. But they took only horses while in Indiana, and paid with greenbacks for all the food and forage they obtained.<sup>24</sup>

The prisoners told their captors that a rebel force of fifteen hundred men would be in Indiana within the next ten days.<sup>25</sup> And Captain Hines, after his escape, proceeded to Brandenburg, where he arrived, alone, on the very day that Morgan reached there, and was made second in command of Morgan's advance guard, and rode with him through Indiana and Ohio, and accompanied Morgan in his escape from prison and in his flight to the Confederate lines in Tennessee.<sup>26</sup>

These raiders were said to have enquired repeatedly in Orange county for Doctor William A. Bowles, who had been the colonel of the Second Indiana Regiment, that retreated at Buena Vista, and was reputed to be a Southern sympathizer,<sup>27</sup> and they professed disappointment at finding that everybody treated them as enemies. But the only kindness which was shown them in Indiana was by a citizen of New Amsterdam, in Harrison county, "who was found treating some of the rebel prisoners," after their capture, and who was accordingly put into jail with them.<sup>28</sup>

<sup>24</sup> New Albany Daily Ledger, June 22, 1863.

<sup>25</sup> New Albany Daily Ledger, June 20, 1863.

<sup>26</sup> Morgan's Cavalry, pages 426, 431, 485, 490.

<sup>27</sup> Madison Courier, June 23, 24, 1863.

<sup>28</sup> New Albany Daily Ledger, June 22, 1863.

The next and last invasion of Indiana was by troops under Morgan's immediate command the next month. With the question whether General Morgan's raid into Indiana was made with the deliberate intent to create a diversion in favor of Bragg's army, or in the hope of obtaining recruits in Southern Indiana, or whether he was forced to cross the river by the Union troops who followed him northward on his way toward Louisville, and with the question whether he acted with the full knowledge and consent of his commanding officers, or whether he disobeyed orders intentionally or from necessity, we have nothing to do. I shall not undertake to trace his movements from Tennessee through Kentucky to the Ohio river, nor from the eastern boundary of Indiana through Ohio to the place where he was captured. I write only of events in Indiana.

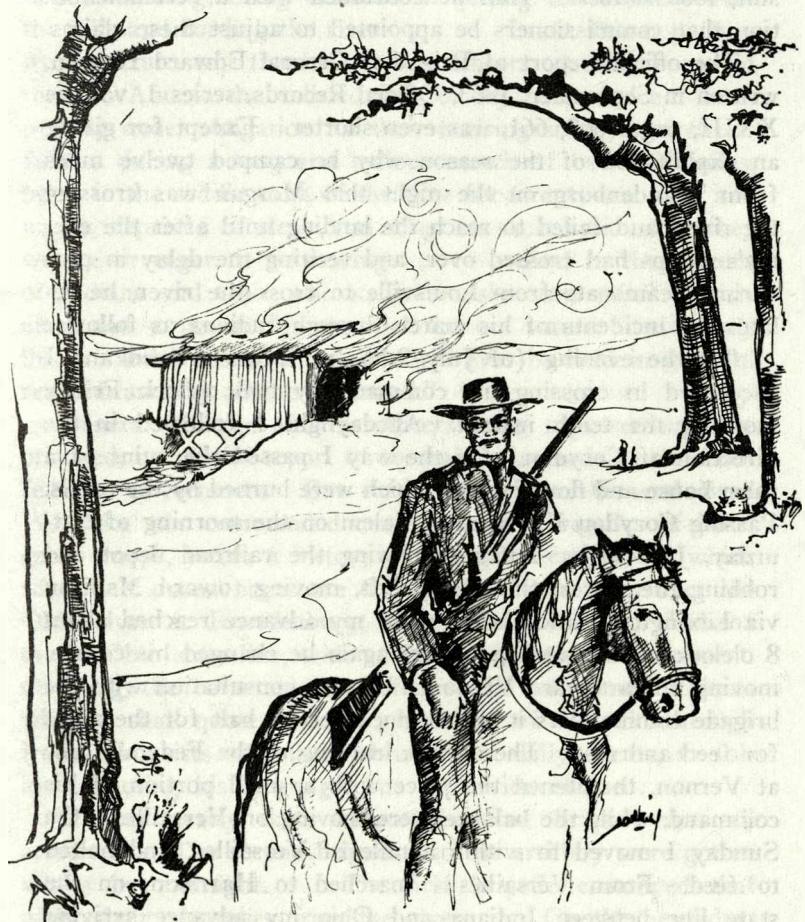
We have seen that members of Captain Hines' company said as early as June 20th, that an invading army was coming.<sup>29</sup> And rumors of Morgan's advance through Kentucky toward Louisville had been mentioned in the New Albany papers as early as July 3rd. But so far were the people of Louisville from expecting him to cross the river that the next morning after his advance guard reached Brandenburg both the Louisville Journal and the Louisville Democrat stated that Morgan had been defeated and was retreating.

The subject of this raid can be disposed of in a few words, but a volume would scarcely exhaust it. It was disposed of by Brigadier General James M. Shackelford, who commanded under General Hobson in the pursuit of Morgan and his men, in a few terse sentences contained in his report, made August 1st, 1863, less than three weeks after the event,<sup>30</sup> as follows:

<sup>29</sup> New Albany Daily Ledger, June 20, 1863.

<sup>30</sup> Official Records, Series 1, Volume XXIII, page 640.

"When we came within two miles of Brandenburg, we discovered the smoke rising from the burning transports that had set the enemy across the river, and heard his shouts of triumph. We were twenty-four hours in obtaining transports and crossing the river. When once across the river, the pursuit was resumed. We pursued him through the State of Indiana to Harrison, Ohio. At Corydon, and other points in Indiana the enemy was met by the militia. The kindness, hospitality, and patriotism of that noble state, as exhibited on the passage of the Federal forces, was sufficient to convince the most consummate traitor of the impossibility of severing this great Union. Ohio seemed to vie with her sister Indiana in facilitating our pursuit after the great Rebel raider. In each of these two great states our troops were fed and furnished with water from the hands of men, women and children; from the palace and hut alike we shared their hospitality. . . . Our pursuit was much retarded by the enemy's burning all the bridges in our front. He had every advantage. His system of horse stealing was perfect. He would dispatch men from the head of each regiment, on each side of the road, to go five miles into the country, seizing every horse and then fall in at the rear of the column. In this way he swept the country for ten miles of all the horses. His depredations on the property of citizens, his recklessness of the rights and lives of the people, while traveling in these states, is without parallel in the war. In order to accomplish the capture of Morgan it was indispensable that my command should have horses. We had orders to press the horses, giving receipts for them, to be settled by the government; yet, in many instances, horses were taken when it was impossible to give receipts for them or to leave with the owners any evidence of indebtedness on the part of the government.



... burning all the bridges....

In many other instances soldiers not authorized to take horses, whose horses had given out, yet, anxious to continue the pursuit, took horses." And he concluded with a recommendation that commissioners be appointed to adjust these claims

The official report of Brigadier General Edward Hobson, written in September, 1863, Official Records, series 1, volume XXIII, pages 660, 661, was even shorter. Except for giving an explanation of the reason why he camped twelve miles from Brandenburg on the night that Morgan was crossing the river, and failed to reach the landing until after the enemy's troops had crossed over, and reciting the delay in procuring steamboats from Louisville to cross the river, he relates the incidents of his march through Indiana as follows:

"In the evening (of July 9th) transports arrived and I succeeded in crossing my command by two o'clock Friday morning the tenth instant. At daylight I followed in the direction of Corydon. On the way I passed the ruins of a farm house and flouring mill which were burned by the rebels. Passing Corydon I arrived at Salem on the morning of Saturday, July 11th. After destroying the railroad depot and robbing the stores, the enemy left, moving toward Madison via Lexington, which latter place my advance reached about 8 o'clock in the evening. Here again he changed his course, moving north toward Vernon. Upon a consultation with the brigade commanders it was deemed best to halt for the night for feed and rest. The enemy, learning of the Federal force at Vernon, threatened the place with a small portion of his command, while the balance were moving on Versailles. On Sunday I moved to within a mile of Versailles, and halted to feed. From Versailles I marched to Harrison, on the state line between Indiana and Ohio my advance arriving about dark. The enemy crossed the White Water river at

this place, burning the bridge, about an hour before my advance arrived. The rear of my command did not arrive until nearly morning, being detained in getting the artillery over the hills and fording the river. . . . I take this opportunity to return my thanks to (the officers, naming some of them). And to the enlisted men of my command am I especially under obligation for their untiring energy and cheerfulness during a long and tedious march of over 800 miles, being in the saddle most of the time for twenty-one days and nights, deprived of sleep, and often on short rations, yet they were ever eager to be moving. . . . And to the citizens of Indiana and Ohio who so generously came to our assistance, and so generously provided for our wants, I return my thanks, and I assure them they will ever be held in grateful remembrance by all the command."

General Morgan and his officers being captured and imprisoned, no official report of the raid was made to the Confederate government. But three years later, General Basil W. Duke who commanded one of the two brigades of Morgan's troops, wrote a history of Morgan's cavalry of which some half dozen pages are devoted to the crossing over the Ohio river at Brandenburg, and the ride through Indiana to the Ohio state line, with a liberal admixture of comment. Omitting the comments, and the recital of some incidents which I shall quote hereafter, his story of the raid through Indiana consists of a mere chronicle of daily events, as follows, quoting his language, but with wide ellipses:

"It was nearly dark before the first brigade was all across. . . . The second brigade and the artillery were gotten across by midnight. . . . The first brigade encamped that night about six miles from the river. . . . On the next day, the ninth, the division marched at an early hour, the second

brigade in advance. . . . Passing through Corydon we took the Salem road and encamped sixteen or eighteen miles from the latter place. On the morning of the tenth we set out for Salem. . . . A short halt was made in Salem to feed men and horses, and during that time several railroad bridges were burned. . . . Leaving Salem at one or two o'clock we marched rapidly and steadily. At nightfall we reached Vienna, on the Indianapolis and Jeffersonville railroad. . . . That night we went into camp near Lexington, a little place six or seven miles from Vienna. General Morgan slept in the town with a small escort, and during the night a party of Federal cavalry entered the town and advanced as far as the house in which he slept, but retired as suddenly as they came. We moved at an early hour on the road to Paris. Colonel Smith was detached to feint against Madison, in order to hold there troops who might prove troublesome if they came out. The division moved quietly through Paris, and in the afternoon arrived in sight of Vernon. . . . A strong force was posted in Vernon, . . . (but) the General was able to carry the division around the place to the Dupont road. . . . We encamped that night at 12 m. and moved next morning at 3. . . . We now averaged twenty-one hours in the saddle. Passing through Dupont a little after daylight . . . Colonel Grigsby was detached with his regiment to press on and burn the bridges near Versailles. . . . Wherever we passed, bridges and depots, water tanks, etc., were burned and the railroads torn up, but I know of but one private dwelling being burned upon the entire raid, and we were fired upon from that one. . . . Marching steadily all day and the greater part of the next night we reached a point on the . . . railroad, twenty-five miles from Harrison, called Summansville (Sunman). Here twenty-five hundred militia lay loaded into box

cars. We halted to rest, and, unconscious of our presence, although we were close upon them, they moved off in the direction of Cincinnati. Moving at 5 a. m. we reached Harrison by one o'clock of the thirteenth. . . . After two or three hours halt at Harrison the division moved directly toward Cincinnati."<sup>30a</sup>

There is some doubt as to the number of men with which Morgan crossed into Indiana. General Basil Duke said that he started from Tennessee with twenty-four hundred and sixty effective men,<sup>31</sup> and that his effective strength on May 26th, 1863, had been twenty-eight hundred.<sup>32</sup> He also had two three-inch Parrott guns and two twelve-pound howitzers, and the men required to serve them. His men fought two or three encounters on their way across Kentucky, in one of which (at Columbia) General Duke says they lost thirty-six killed and about twenty-five so badly wounded that they could not ride, and he adds that five companies were detached and sent out in different directions on special service before Brandenburg was reached. But they were riding through a country infested with guerilla bands, many of whom had served under Morgan. They captured and robbed the city of Lebanon, and plundered many small towns and farm houses on their way to the river, and a share of the plunder was attractive to the other bands at large in Kentucky. And the captain of the steamer J. T. McComb, after spending a day and a night in helping to ferry the force across the river, carried into Louisville the report that by actual count 4,800 men, 5,000 horses, two six-pound cannon and two twelve-pounders had crossed to the Indiana

<sup>30a</sup> Morgan's Cavalry, pages 434 to 440.

<sup>31</sup> Morgan's Cavalry, page 415.

<sup>32</sup> Morgan's Cavalry, page 404.

Indiana Magazine of History, Vol. 8 (1912), page 151.

side.<sup>33</sup> Morgan's force was variously estimated at from 3,000 to 11,000 by persons who encountered it or saw it pass. But the number of horsemen was probably not far from 3,000, with a battery of four small cannon.<sup>34</sup>

In order to understand the route followed by Morgan through Indiana one should remember that the general course of the Ohio river from the Ohio state line to Madison, after making due allowance for its many windings, is almost due southwest, the first twenty-five miles running almost south, after which it curves westward; and that from Madison to Jeffersonville the river runs south thirty-five miles in going a little more than twenty-five miles west, and from New Albany to the mouth of Salt river, a distance of twenty-five miles, the river runs nearly due south, after which it curves toward the west and northwest some fifteen miles to Brandenburg. And that Brandenburg is more than seventy-five miles south of a line drawn west from Lawrenceburg. Therefore, at any point reached by Morgan and his men the Ohio river lay east of them, until they had ridden northward more than seventy-five miles, and until they were many miles north of a line drawn east and west through North Vernon, Seymour and Rising Sun. The southern border of Indiana is not an east and west line, though we often fail to realize that Seymour and North Vernon, fifty miles north of Louisville, are farther south than Lawrenceburg and Aurora; and that Corydon is several miles south of a line drawn west from New Albany, and the river towns along the southern border of Harrison county are twenty miles farther south than Louisville. Because of these facts, when Morgan and

<sup>33</sup> Louisville Democrat, July 9, 1863.

Madison Courier, July 11, 1863.

<sup>34</sup> Official Records, Series 1, Vol. XXIII, page 711.

Indiana Magazine of History, Vol. 8 (1912), pages 151, 152.

his men had ridden forty miles north from Brandenburg, to Salem, the Ohio river was only thirty-five miles away toward the east, and hardly two-thirds as far away toward the southeast, at Grassy Flats, above Jeffersonville, where it was believed that Morgan intended to re-cross the river, and where some of his followers were killed and captured in attempting to cross from the Kentucky side to join him.

The small parties sent out from Morgan's army, collecting horses and plunder, scoured the roads in all directions, north, east, south and west, thus giving rise to erroneous reports of the direction in which the main body was moving. But the general course followed by Morgan and his army was to the north and east, almost parallel with the Ohio river. From where he crossed the river to Corydon, and for more than ten miles north of there, the road which Morgan followed was all the time within fifteen miles of the Ohio river, although he was travelling nearly due north. He continued north twenty miles farther, through Palmyra to Salem, sending one column through Greenville, five miles east of Palmyra. From Salem one column rode directly east, through Canton, New Philadelphia and Centerville, crossing the Indianapolis and Jeffersonville railroad at Vienna, while the other column rode southeast through Harristown to Memphis, twelve miles south of Vienna, and still other companies crossed the railroad at Henryville, all of the different columns coming together at Lexington, thirty miles east of Salem, on the railroad which runs from Jeffersonville to Greensburg. At Lexington they were only twelve miles from the Ohio river directly east of there, and less than twenty miles from Madison. Here the raiders turned to follow the railroad north, through Hinesville and Paris, toward Vernon, and some of the advance guards proceeded as far as the Vernon Fork of

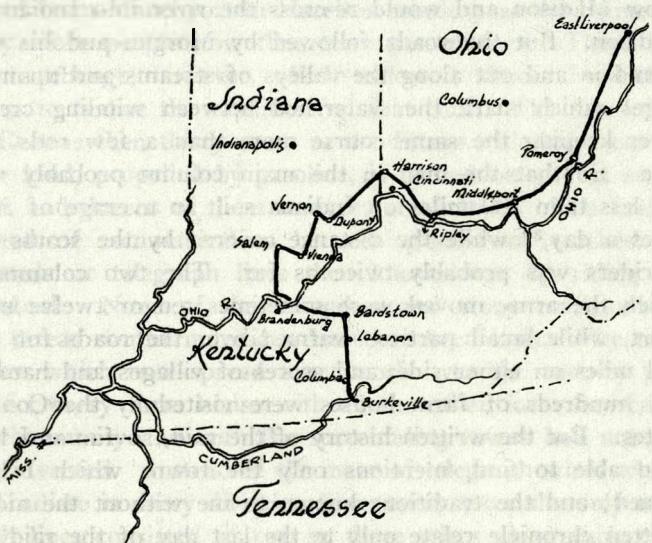
the Muskackatuk river, and challenged the Home Guards to surrender the town of Vernon. But the main body of the troops turned east through Dupont, fifteen miles northwest of Madison on the Madison and Indianapolis railroad. Some of the troops went in the direction of Madison almost to Kent, ten miles west of there, but turned back and rejoined the main body. From Dupont to Versailles the general direction was northeast. But I have found no record of any towns or villages visited, in the twenty-five miles between Dupont and Versailles, except that some of the troops passed through Bryansburg, seven or eight miles east of Dupont.<sup>35</sup>

The scouts and outriders were reported as far south as Cross Plains, Friendship, Elrod and Moores Hill, and as far north as Osgood and Napoleon. And since Osgood is fifteen miles north of Cross Plains, and Napoleon is fifteen miles northwest of Moores Hill, it is fair to assume that different columns of the troops took parallel roads and that smaller parties followed widely diverging roads. The main columns crossed the Ohio and Mississippi railroad at Pierceville, Milan and Moores Hill, tearing up the tracks.<sup>36</sup> The entire body of troops came together near Sunman, about twenty miles northwest of Lawrenceburg on the Indianapolis and Cincinnati railroad, and, crossing the railroad at Weisburg and between that station and Sunman,<sup>37</sup> destroying it as they crossed, they rode directly east along the ridge which divides the creeks flowing into the Ohio river at Lawrenceburg from the small streams which flow into the White Water. The way led through Hubbell's Corners, New Alsace, Kelso, or Dover as it was then called, and Logan, to the long hill

<sup>35</sup> Morgan and his captors, page 144.

<sup>36</sup> Morgan and his captors, page 144.

<sup>37</sup> History of Dearborn and Ohio Counties (Ind.), page 222.



—MORGAN'S RAID IN INDIANA AND OHIO—

leading down into the White Water valley at Harrison, where they crossed the White Water river and passed over into the state of Ohio.<sup>38</sup> The distance from where they entered the State of Indiana at Mauckport to where they left it and crossed into Ohio, at Harrison, is about 120 miles in an air line, as a carrier pigeon or an airplane might traverse it. An air line would cross the Ohio river into Kentucky ten miles below Madison and would re-cross the river into Indiana at Madison. But the roads followed by Morgan and his men wound in and out along the valleys of streams and upon the ridges which mark the watershed between winding creeks, never keeping the same course more than a few rods at a time. So that the men in the main column probably rode not less than 200 miles on Indiana soil, an average of forty miles a day,<sup>39</sup> while the distance covered by the scouts and outriders was probably twice as far. The two columns in which the army moved were sometimes ten or twelve miles apart, while small parties swarmed over the roads for several miles on either side, and scores of villages and hamlets, and hundreds of farm houses were visited by the Confederates. But the written history of the raid, so far as I have been able to find, mentions only the towns which I have named; and the traditions known to me without the aid of written chronicle relate only to the last day of the raid and the last twenty miles of the course followed by the raiders in Indiana.

The country through which Morgan and his troopers passed was then almost as thickly settled as it is now. Some of the towns and cities they passed through have grown a

<sup>38</sup> Morgan and his captors, page 144.

History of Dearborn and Ohio Counties (Ind.), page 222.

<sup>39</sup> Morgan and His Captors, page 145.

little, and cities not far from their line of march have sprung into existence since then. But after the first two days Morgan avoided the towns and the trunk roads and even from the first probably no place in Indiana that he visited had a thousand inhabitants. And so little have the villages and farms changed since then that it is doubtful whether a traveller following along the highways over which the raiders passed from Mauckport to Harrison would pass the homes of many more people now than they passed then. There has been a change, however, which makes it almost impossible for us to realize the conditions at that time. The first automobile was then thirty years in the future. Today a car of some kind, propelled by gasoline, is owned on almost every farm, and dozens of them in every small town. The fastest method of communication between places not reached by railroads or telegraph lines then known was by riding on horseback. None of the turnpikes and stone roads which now thread southern Indiana had then been built. The telephones which now spread a net work over the country and connect every farm house with all the other farm houses in the community and with the surrounding towns had not yet been invented. Instead of the maze of telegraph wires which now radiate in every direction from every town the only telegraph lines consisted of two or three wires along each railroad, used chiefly for operating trains. The associated press was not in existence, and telegraph dispatches printed in the newspapers seldom consisted of more than two or three lines. Even the issue of the Indianapolis Journal which printed the Governor's Proclamation commanding everybody in the south half of the State to arm and repel the invaders carried only half a dozen lines of telegraphic news on the subject of the raid, saying only that the rebels had crossed the river at Brandenburg, and were moving northward. And most of

the accounts of Morgan's movements which the Journal printed afterward were copied from the New Albany papers or were sent by mail from local correspondents. There was no telegraph line along the river, and while Morgan's advance guard reached Brandenburg on Tuesday, July 7th, and captured the steamer J. T. McComb at two o'clock the next morning and the Alice Dean soon afterward, and spent Wednesday in crossing the river, nothing was known of their presence at Louisville, forty miles up the river, until Thursday afternoon, when the steamer, J. T. McComb, having helped to ferry the invaders across the river and then been sent up the river by General Hobson for transports and supplies, got back to her wharf. And when the raiders had burned the bridges and cut the telegraph wires on the three railroads leading north from New Albany and Jeffersonville, the newspapers of those cities confessed that they were cut off from the outside world, and ceased to print any telegraph dispatches until the damage had been repaired.<sup>40</sup>

The line of railroad now operated by the Big Four Company between Indianapolis and Cincinnati then reached only to Lawrenceburg. And while the Ohio and Mississippi railroad had a track west from Cincinnati through Lawrenceburg, North Vernon, Seymour and Mitchell, it was of a wider gauge than the north and south railroads which it crossed at the points named, so that cars could not be transferred from one railroad to the other. Though a few Indianapolis trains were run between Lawrenceburg and Cincinnati, using a second rail spiked inside the rail on the broader gauge railroad. And the rails of the single track roads then in use were so light, the tracks so poorly constructed, and the cars and locomotives so small, that they would seem like toys beside the double tracks, ballasted with stone, and the heavy

<sup>40</sup> New Albany Daily Ledger, July 13, 1863.

rails and monster engines and cars in use today. All the trains were local trains and only two or three a day were run in each direction, at less than half the speed that trains are run now. I have played in a barn built right against the main track of the railroad which runs from Indianapolis to Cincinnati, so that hay could be loaded from its mows directly into cars left standing on the main track until the next train should come along to haul them away, and cars were so loaded in the year 1863. The country was covered with forests, patches being cleared for cultivation on each farm. And where eighty, a hundred, or a hundred and sixty acres of farm land now surround a dwelling, ten, twenty or forty acres were then under cultivation, and the rest of the farm was in timber. So that when the rebels had cut a railroad and telegraph line and passed on, the forest seemed to swallow them up and all was mystery until they emerged at some other point on the railroad which could be reached by telegraph.

But to proceed with the story. After riding many miles through Tennessee and across Kentucky, a detachment of about two hundred men sent forward by General Morgan rode into Brandenburg, Kentucky, on the evening of Tuesday, July 7th, 1863, while the rest of the command encamped at Salt River, several miles away. They were in plain clothes and concealed their identity until the steamer J. T. McComb landed at the wharf about two o'clock in the morning.<sup>41</sup>

The Louisville Journal, on Thursday, giving the report of the affair as it was carried up the river after the Confederates had gone, said of the capture of the steamer:

"The rebels boarded her, took her out into the middle of the river and anchoring her there, put up signals of distress. They then commenced their chivalrous and noble deeds, robbing the passengers and mails."<sup>42</sup>

<sup>41</sup> New Albany Daily Ledger, July 9, 1863.

<sup>42</sup> But see Morgan and His Captors, page 116, which says the capture was in the afternoon.

While they were thus engaged the steamer Alice Dean came in sight from below, and observing the signals of distress, went to the relief of the captured boat. She was also captured, and according to the Louisville Journal the passengers were robbed and the boat plundered, all money and silverware being taken.<sup>43</sup> Some citizens of Brandenburg crossed the river to Mauckport, two miles below, with the news of what was being done, and the Union commander there hailed a passing steamboat and sent it back to Leavenworth for a six-pounder gun and assistance, and also sent to Corydon for reinforcements. At daylight this gun opened fire on the steamboats which the Confederates had captured, aiming at their boilers to disable them. But the rebel batteries in Brandenburg drove the Home Guards from the river bank.<sup>44</sup> The main body of Morgan's men reached the river about ten o'clock Wednesday morning, and prepared to cross. Some resistance was offered by the Home Guards, but under cover of artillery fire the first brigade was carried across and drove the Home Guards away, capturing their cannon.<sup>45</sup>

The steamer Grey Eagle, down bound from Louisville, had been intercepted at a landing farther up the river by the news of what was passing at Brandenburg, and had returned to the mouth of Salt river, and a gunboat that had been sent down from there now appeared up the river. It would seem that her most effective mode of fighting would be to fire upon

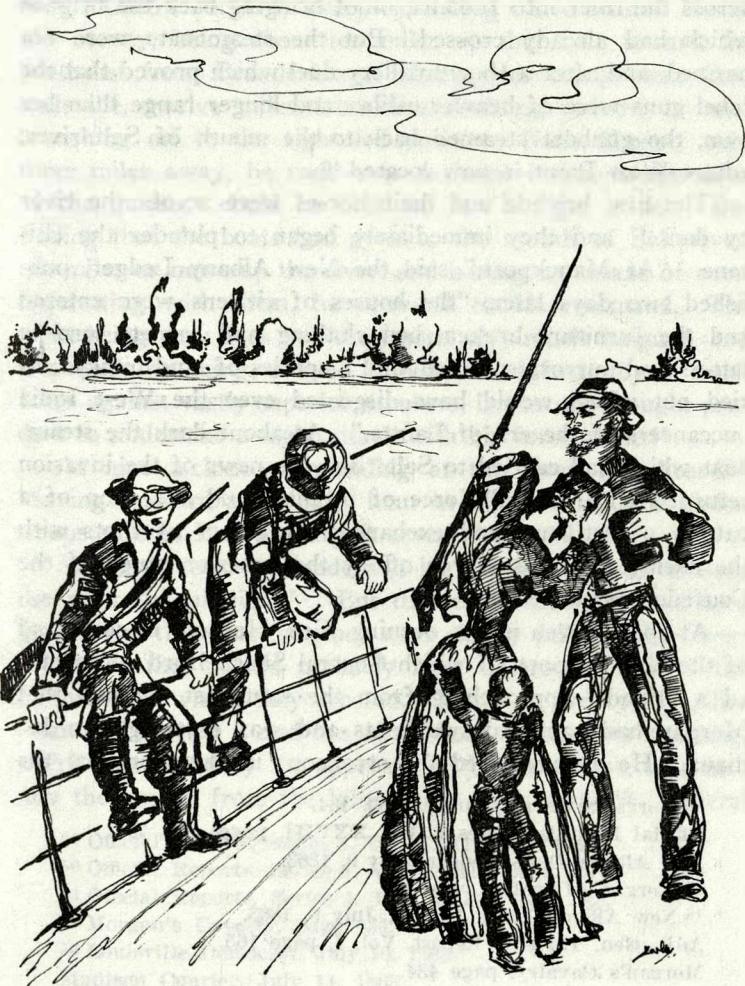
<sup>43</sup> Louisville Journal, July 9, 1863.

Madison Courier, July 10, 1863.

Morgan and His Captors, page 116.

<sup>44</sup> Morgan and His Captors, pages 117, 118.

<sup>45</sup> Smith's History of Indiana, page 374.



the passengers were robbed and the boat plundered..

and sink or damage the two wooden steamboats, which alone afforded means of setting the second brigade and the horses across the river into Indiana, or of bringing back the brigade which had already crossed. But the steamboats were not harmed, and after a short artillery duel which proved that the rebel guns were of heavier caliber and longer range than her own, the gunboat steamed back to the mouth of Salt river, where West Point is now located.<sup>46</sup>

The first brigade and their horses were across the river by dark,<sup>47</sup> and they immediately began to plunder the citizens. "At Mauckport," said the New Albany Ledger, published two days later, "the houses of citizens were entered and the furniture broken, bed clothing and carpets torn to tatters and mirrors smashed, and a species of land piracy carried out which would have disgusted even the West India buccaneers of the era of Lafitte." At about dark the steamboat which had carried to Salt river the news of the invasion returned with a small force of infantry and a section of a battery of artillery, and exchanged a number of shots with the enemy, but was driven off by the superior range of the Confederate guns.<sup>48</sup>

At about seven in the evening, Gen. Hobson, in command of the Union troops of which General Shackelford commanded a brigade, approaching from the southeast, learned that Morgan had captured two boats and was crossing into Indiana. He also received the erroneous information that the

<sup>46</sup> Morgan's Cavalry, pages 430, 434.

Official Records, Series 1, Vol. XXVIII, pages 659, 717.

New Albany Daily Ledger, July 9, 1863.

<sup>47</sup> Morgan's Cavalry, page 434.

<sup>48</sup> New Albany Daily Ledger, July 9, 1863.

Adjt. Gen. Terrell's Report, Vol. I, page 165.

Morgan's Cavalry, page 434.

gunboat and transport with troops which had come down the river were at Rock Haven, a village at the southernmost bend of the Ohio river as it sweeps in a long curve around Harrison county, being about ten miles up the river toward the southeast from Brandenburg. Halting his troops near Garnettsville, twelve miles from Brandenburg, where a road branching off to the right led down to Rock Haven, only three miles away, he rode over to learn if the co-operation of the gunboat could be obtained for a night attack. But finding that the boats had gone to the mouth of Salt river, ten miles or more up the river, and having no means of communicating with them, he returned to his command. The night being very dark and the troops very much fatigued, and Brandenburg being deemed capable of defense by a small force against vastly superior numbers, it was not thought prudent to undertake a night attack with his force alone.<sup>49</sup>

At nine o'clock cannonading at the river was heard.<sup>50</sup> Moving forward at an early hour in the morning, the Union troops entered Brandenburg at seven o'clock.<sup>51</sup>

Morgan's second brigade and his artillery had all crossed the river by midnight.<sup>52</sup> But the rebels seem to have been ignorant at this time that they were closely followed by Union troops or they would probably have destroyed both of the steamers on which they crossed. They set fire to the Alice Dean and burned it and the wharf-boat, amid great cheering, which was heard by the approaching Union troops, who also saw the smoke from the hilltop two miles away.<sup>53</sup> General

<sup>49</sup> Official Reports, Series 1. Vol. XXIII, page 659.

<sup>50</sup> Official Reports. Series 1. Vol. XXIII. page 707.

<sup>51</sup> Official Reports. Series 1. Vol. XXIII. page 659.

<sup>52</sup> Morgan's Cavalry, page 434.

<sup>53</sup> Louisville Democrat. July 10. 1863.

Madison Courier. July 11. 1863.

Official Records. Series 1, Vol. XXIII, page 640.

Duke said that the boat they burned was "in Government employ."<sup>54</sup> The other boat, the J. T. McComb, was released by the rebels, and was sent to Louisville for transports, by General Hobson, immediately on his arrival,<sup>55</sup> reaching there at two o'clock on the afternoon of Thursday, July 9th.<sup>56</sup> The captain's story was that he saved his boat through the earnest intervention of Morgan's brigade commanders, Basil Duke and Bushrod Johnson, who had formerly been warm friends of his.<sup>57</sup>

This was the first intimation that the people of Louisville and the outside world had of what was passing at Brandenburg and in Harrison county. As was stated above, the Louisville Journal and Louisville Democrat had both printed dispatches the day before saying that Morgan's band had been defeated and was retreating,<sup>58</sup> which had been copied by the New Albany Daily Ledger that very morning.<sup>59</sup> Immediately upon the arrival of the steamboat the news was telegraphed to the military authorities<sup>60</sup> and to Governor Morton. The commanding general at once telegraphed orders to General Boyle, in command at Louisville, to "arm the Indiana Legion, Home Guards and, in fact, every fighting man you can find," in expectation of an attack on that city.<sup>61</sup>

<sup>54</sup> Morgan's Cavalry, page 434.

<sup>55</sup> Official Records, Series 1, Vol. XXIII, page 659.

<sup>56</sup> New Albany Daily Ledger, July 9, 1863.

Louisville Democrat, July 9, 1863.

Madison Courier July 10, 11, 1863.

<sup>57</sup> See authorities just cited.

<sup>58</sup> See issues of July 8, 1863.

<sup>59</sup> New Albany Daily Ledger, July 9, 1863.

<sup>60</sup> Official Reports, Series 1, Vol. XXIII, pages 705, 706, 711.

Report of Brigadier General Boyle, July 9, 1863.

<sup>61</sup> Official Records, Series 1, Vol. XXIII, page 705.

The telegram to Governor Morton reached Indianapolis a little before three o'clock in the afternoon. An organization of loyal citizens throughout the state had been effected a short time before for purposes of defense which was known as the Indiana Legion. On paper its members numbered several thousand men, but they were unmounted, and many of them were unarmed;<sup>62</sup> and the occasion called for a rally of all the citizens, and especially those who had horses to follow Morgan's rapid movements. Therefore Governor Morton immediately issued a proclamation calling all of the people to arms. It recited the fact of the invasion and that therefore "it is hereby ordered and required that all able-bodied white male citizens of the several counties south of the National road forthwith form themselves into companies of at least 60 persons, elect officers and arm themselves with such arms as they may be able to procure. Said companies will perfect themselves in military drill as rapidly as possible and hold themselves subject to further orders from this department. It is desired that they shall be mounted in all cases where it is possible."<sup>63</sup> With this proclamation was posted in all the towns in the southern part of the state military orders requiring all soldiers on leave of absence and all convalescents to report immediately for duty, taking over all the railroads and telegraph lines for military purposes, and proclaiming "that all places of business except the printing offices, telegraph office, postoffice, drugstores and livery stables should be closed at three o'clock, until further orders, to give the citi-

<sup>62</sup> Smith's History of Indiana, page 375.

<sup>63</sup> Indianapolis Journal, July 10, 1863.

Madison Courier, July 11, 1863.

Adjt. Gen. Terrell's Report, Vol. I. pages 165, 176.

zens an opportunity to meet in their respective wards, and effect a thorough military organization."<sup>64</sup>

It will be observed that even in Indianapolis there was only one telegraph office at that time. Indianapolis was then a town with but little more than twenty thousand inhabitants whose residences covered only a small part of what is now the downtown district. Bells were immediately rung and whistles blown, and before dark that night twelve companies of Home Guards had been organized. Eight more companies were formed in the next few days. There was much drilling, and several times the companies were marched down to the train, but few, if any, of them were sent out of the county,<sup>65</sup> though a few companies of men from other parts of the state who came to Indianapolis, were sent to North Vernon<sup>66</sup> and Sunman.<sup>67</sup> On Sunday afternoon, about the time that Morgan's advance reached Versailles, the fire bells at Indianapolis were sounded, and in forty-five minutes all troops in the city were in line. Five regiments slept in the state house yard that night.<sup>68</sup> And what was done at Indianapolis was done in forty other counties in the southern half of the state. The companies of the Legion were first in the field, but within a few hours the muster was universal. By noon of the second day fifteen thousand militia men had reported to the Governor

<sup>64</sup> See newspapers of July 9, 10, 11, 1863.

Madison Courier, July 10, 1863.

<sup>65</sup> Dunn's History of Indianapolis, page 232, quoting reminiscences of John H. Holliday.

<sup>66</sup> History of Dearborn and Ohio Counties (Ind.), page 220.

Adj't. Gen. Terrell's Report, Vol. I, pages 165, 189.

<sup>67</sup> New Albany Daily Ledger, July 14, 1863.

<sup>68</sup> Indianapolis Sentinel, July 13, 1863.

New Albany Daily Ledger, July 14, 1863.

Dunn's History of Indianapolis, page 232.

that they were organized and ready for service, and the number was swelled to sixty-five thousand by the time Morgan's men left the state. The generals commanding the Union troops in that part of the country ably co-operated. Troops were ordered from Michigan, ammunition from Washington, and gunboats were ordered to patrol the Ohio river.<sup>69</sup>

In the meantime the invaders had plundered the citizens of Mauckport, killed five of the Harrison county Home Guards who resisted their advance at a point about two miles from the river, and started back into the interior. The first brigade, which crossed on Wednesday afternoon, burned a flouring mill owned by Peter Lapp, about three miles from the river,<sup>70</sup> and then went into camp three miles farther on.<sup>71</sup> The second brigade, which did not finish crossing until midnight, passed them in the early morning, and the whole force moved toward Corydon.<sup>72</sup> As they advanced the skirmishers from the Home Guards fired on them, and at a point about four miles south of Corydon, near the residence of the Reverend Peter Glenn and his son John, somebody fired from behind a fence and killed one of the soldiers. Neither of the Glenns was armed or had taken any part in the fighting. But the Confederates, in revenge, shot the young man through both thighs, and then set fire to the house. The father entered the house to quench the fire or to bring something out. The soldiers ordered him to desist, and when he refused they

<sup>69</sup> Indiana Magazine of History, Vol. 8 (1912), page 152.

Official Records, Series 1, Vol. XXIII, page 658. *et seq.*

<sup>70</sup> Morgan and His Captors, page 120.

Indiana Magazine of History, Vol. 8 (1912), page 152.

Adjt. Gen. Terrell's Report, Vol. I, pages 165, 183.

<sup>71</sup> Morgan's Cavalry, page 434.

<sup>72</sup> Morgan's Cavalry, page 435.

shot him through the breast and killed him.<sup>73</sup> According to General Duke this was the only private dwelling burned in the entire raid;<sup>74</sup> but William Heth, an old man who kept the toll gate near Corydon, was also shot to death in his house,<sup>75</sup> and according to a report which reached New Albany that night, the house was burned.<sup>76</sup>

As they came near Corydon, fourteen miles inland, Morgan's advance guard found a body of militia posted behind rail barricades. A charge was beaten back, but, the artillery having come up and opened fire and demonstrations having been made upon their flanks, the defenders of the barricade fled before a second charge, with the loss of three killed and two wounded.<sup>77</sup> Another Home Guard fell dead from his horse, without the slightest appearance of a wound, just as the retreat began.<sup>78</sup> The Confederate loss was eight killed, including General Morgan's acting adjutant, and thirty-three wounded.<sup>79</sup> Of these, a lieutenant, a surgeon and six enlisted men who were left at Corydon because they were too badly injured to ride were placed under arrest by the provost marshal and sent to the military prison at Louisville.<sup>80</sup> Two others of the wounded men died at Corydon after their com-

<sup>73</sup> New Albany Daily Ledger, July 10, 18, 1863.

Morgan and His Captors, page 120.

Smith's History of Indiana, page 375.

<sup>74</sup> Morgan's Cavalry, page 439.

<sup>75</sup> Morgan and His Captors, pages 123, 124.

<sup>76</sup> New Albany Daily Ledger, July 10, 1863.

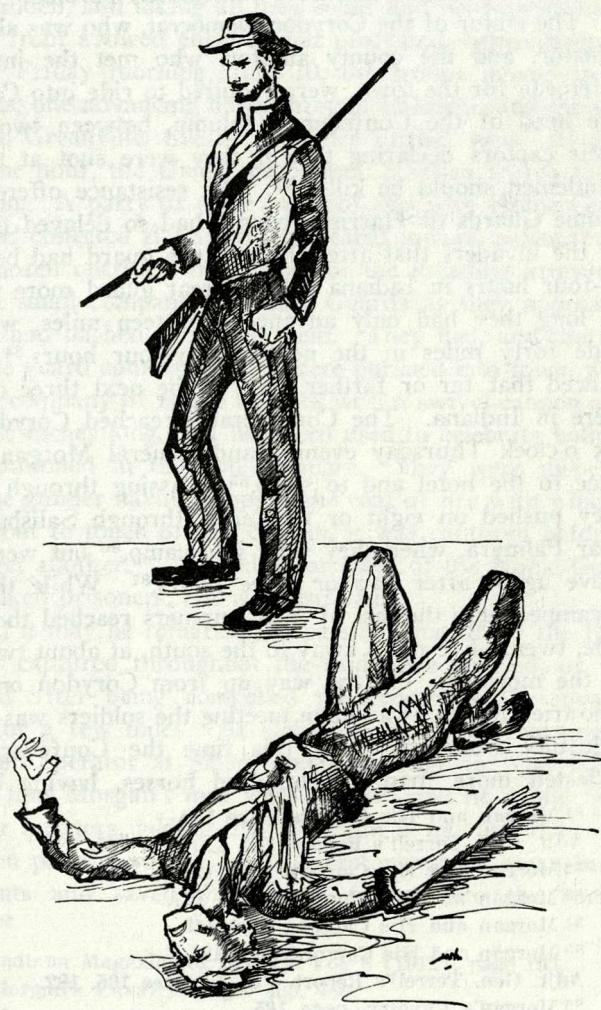
<sup>77</sup> Adj't. Gen. Terrell's Report, Vol. I, pages 121, 122, 123.

Morgan and His Captors, pages 121, 122, 123.

<sup>78</sup> Morgan and His Captors, page 130.

<sup>79</sup> Morgan and His Captors, page 124.

<sup>80</sup> New Albany Daily Ledger, July 13, 1863.



.... shot to death in his house...

panions had ridden away.<sup>81</sup> Three hundred of the Home Guards surrendered and were immediately paroled.<sup>82</sup>

The editor of the Corydon Democrat, who was also a state senator, and the county auditor, who met the invaders to intercede for the town, were required to ride into Corydon at the head of the Confederate column, between two soldiers, their captors declaring that if they were shot at these two gentlemen should be killed.<sup>83</sup> The resistance offered by the Home Guards of Harrison county had so delayed the march of the invaders that after the advance guard had been twenty-four hours in Indiana and the rear guard more than half as long they had only advanced fourteen miles, while they rode forty miles in the next twenty-four hours,<sup>84</sup> and advanced that far or farther each of the next three days they were in Indiana. The Confederates reached Corydon about six o'clock Thursday evening and General Morgan went at once to the hotel and to sleep.<sup>85</sup> Passing through Corydon they pushed on eight or ten miles, through Salisbury, until near Palmyra, when they went into camp,<sup>86</sup> but were on the move again after two or three hours.<sup>87</sup> While they were encamped here the last of their pursuers reached the Indiana side, twenty-five miles away to the south, at about two o'clock in the morning. On the way up from Corydon one citizen who tried to run away upon meeting the soldiers was shot and painfully wounded.<sup>88</sup> By this time the Confederates had collected more than five hundred horses, having displayed

<sup>81</sup> Morgan and His Captors, page 130.

Adj't. Gen. Terrell's Report Vol. I, pages 165, 184.

<sup>82</sup> Morgan and His Captors, page 124.

<sup>83</sup> Morgan and His Captors, page 127.

<sup>84</sup> Morgan and His Captors, page 119.

<sup>85</sup> Morgan and His Captors, page 124.

Adj't. Gen. Terrell's Report. Vol. I, pages 165, 182.

<sup>86</sup> Morgan's Cavalry, page 135.

<sup>87</sup> Morgan and His Captors, page 135.

<sup>88</sup> Morgan and His Captors, page 135.

remarkable ingenuity in searching out the places where horses were hidden, and taking all they could find, with strict impartiality, from avowed enemies and professed sympathizers.

On Friday morning, July 10, the troops moved in two columns, one advancing north through Palmyra, and the other through Greenville, five or six miles further east. At about the same hour, the Union troops took up their march toward Corydon. A party of three hundred and fifty Home Guards who had collected at Palmyra, retreated toward Salem.<sup>89</sup>

A dozen outriders in advance of the invading army came upon a small company of Home Guards as they approached Salem, and dashed in among them. They fled, and the rebel advance guard coming up they were pursued into town, where a large company of Home Guards, with a swivel cannon about eighteen inches long, that had been used to celebrate holidays, were stationed in the public square. They were dispersed, and, the gunner having dropped the coal of fire with which he was about to touch off the cannon, it was captured before he could get another.<sup>90</sup> A hundred or more of the Home Guards were taken prisoners, but were paroled.<sup>91</sup>

And it may be remarked, in passing, that all of the Home Guards captured throughout the raid were paroled, or were released after being compelled to accompany the invading force for a few miles. At eight o'clock in the morning the telegraph operator at Salem sent a message to New Albany stating that Morgan's men were in town and he would be off to safer quarters, adding that "Morgan is moving in two columns on parallel roads." The operator carried away his instruments and saved them from falling into the enemy's hands.<sup>92</sup>

<sup>89</sup> Indiana Magazine of History, Vol. 8 (1912), page 155.

<sup>90</sup> Morgan's Cavalry, pages 435, 436.

<sup>91</sup> Morgan and His Captors, page 136.

Madison Courier, July 11, 1863.

<sup>92</sup> New Albany Daily Ledger, July 10, 1863.

The rebels rode into Salem about nine o'clock,<sup>93</sup> at the same time that Hobson's men were nearing Corydon, twenty-five miles away.<sup>94</sup> Bodies of Confederate troops were reported east of Greenville, fifteen miles northwest of New Albany at eight o'clock, and some of the scouts burned the railroad bridge at Farrabee Station, fifteen miles further north, at ten o'clock.<sup>95</sup> A short halt was made in Salem to feed the men and horses.<sup>96</sup> Four or five bridges were burned, including the railroad bridges,<sup>97</sup> and also a water tank and the depot.<sup>98</sup> At Corydon Morgan had demanded \$1,000 each from the owners of the three flouring mills, under penalty of having the mills burned if the money was refused, but finally commuted the demand for \$2,100 in greenbacks,<sup>99</sup> and he also took \$750 from the county treasurer.<sup>1</sup> A stonemill was burned which presumably was not ransomed.<sup>2</sup> One store was plundered of a stock of clothing, hats, and boots and shoes said to be worth \$3,500, for which the rebels pretended to pay with \$140 in Confederate script. And some others lost parts of their stock. But a number of the stores in Corydon were not molested.<sup>3</sup>

The invaders took advantage of the stop at Salem, however, to do a more thorough job of plundering the town than had before been done. A thousand dollars was exacted from

<sup>93</sup> Morgan and His Captors, page 135.

<sup>94</sup> Adj't. Gen. Terrell's Report, Vol. I, pages 165, 186.

<sup>95</sup> New Albany Daily Ledger, July 10, 1863.

<sup>96</sup> Morgan's Cavalry, page 437.

<sup>97</sup> Morgan's Cavalry, page 436.

Morgan and His Captors, page 136.

<sup>98</sup> New Albany Daily Ledger, July 11, 1863.

<sup>99</sup> Morgan and His Captors, page 125.

New Albany Daily Ledger, July 13, 1863.

Adj't. Gen. Terrell's Report, Vol. I, page 183.

<sup>1</sup> Morgan and His Captors, page 125.

<sup>2</sup> New Albany Daily Ledger, July 10, 1863.

<sup>3</sup> Morgan and His Captors, pages 124, 125.

the owner of each mill. And it was reported that having counted the roll of bills offered by one of the millers in payment of the blackmail, and found that it contained \$1,200, Morgan gave back \$200, saying, "Do you think I would rob you of a cent?"<sup>4</sup> The banks had been warned and had sent their money out of town. But the clothing stores were broken open, and the men helped themselves to new clothes, throwing away their old ones. The dry goods stores, liquor stores and saddle shops were also plundered. "The ragamuffins were particularly delighted with the style of Salem clothing and the quality of Salem whiskey."<sup>5</sup> They left Salem at two o'clock.<sup>6</sup>

One column marched directly east, through Canton, New Philadelphia and Centerville, and crossed the Jeffersonville and Indianapolis railroad at Vienna, three or four miles south of where Scottsburg is now located.<sup>7</sup> The other column rode southeast through Harristown and crossed the railroad at Memphis, twelve miles south of Vienna, and at Henryville, between there and Vienna.<sup>8</sup> At Vienna the telegraph station and the operator were captured, before the operator could give an alarm, and General Morgan put one of his own men in charge of the office, who listened on the wires until he had learned all the news to be obtained from Louisville and Indianapolis, including the fact that orders had been issued to the militia to fell timber and blockade all the roads the invaders would be likely to travel.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>4</sup> Morgan and His Captors, pages 136.

<sup>5</sup> New Albany Daily Ledger, July 11, 1863.

<sup>6</sup> Morgan's Cavalry, page 437.

<sup>7</sup> Madison Courier, July 11, 12, 1863.

New Albany Daily Ledger, July 10, 13, 1863.

Indianapolis Journal, July 11, 1863.

Morgan and His Captors, page 139.

<sup>8</sup> New Albany Daily Ledger, July 10, 1863.

<sup>9</sup> Morgan's Cavalry, page 437.

At this time the Confederates doubtless also learned that a Union force had crossed the river and was following only a few miles behind them. This was about eleven o'clock on the evening of Friday, July 10,<sup>10</sup> about six hours after Morgan's advance had been reported to be at Canton, fifteen miles away,<sup>11</sup> and his rear guard passed through Vienna at eight o'clock the next morning, having camped in the meantime.<sup>12</sup> At noon that day the Union troops were reported only sixteen miles behind,<sup>13</sup> and their advance reached Vienna at half past three the next afternoon, seven hours behind the rear guard of the Confederates.<sup>14</sup>

Morgan sent out scouts and small parties seeking for horses on all the diverging roads, and the fleeing inhabitants carried the word that his troops were advancing in as many directions and toward as many places as his scouts rode.<sup>15</sup> While his army was turning east from Salem, the word came to Madison that they had been at Paoli, twenty-five miles west, and at Brownstown, as many miles north of there.<sup>16</sup> And when they were turning north from Lexington toward Paris and Vernon on Saturday, they were reported within a mile and a half of Kent, and then word came that they had turned south, and also that they had turned North.<sup>17</sup> At both Memphis and Vienna the railroad depots were

<sup>10</sup> New Albany Daily Ledger, July 13, 1863.

But see Morgan's Cavalry, page 437.

<sup>11</sup> Official Records, Series 1, Vol. XXIII, page 718.

<sup>12</sup> New Albany Daily Ledger, July 11, 13, 1863.

<sup>13</sup> Madison Courier, July 11, 1863.

Indianapolis Journal, July 11, 1863.

<sup>14</sup> Official Records, Series 1, Vol. XXIII, page 727.

<sup>15</sup> Adj't. Gen. Terrell's Report, Vol. I, pages 165, 190, 191.

Foulke's Life of Morton, page 281.

<sup>16</sup> Madison Courier, July 11, 1863.

Adj't. Gen. Terrell's Report, Vol. I, pages 165, 190, 191.

<sup>17</sup> Madison Courier, July 11, 1863.



.. ripping open the bedding ..

burned, the tracks torn up and the telegraph wires cut, and at Vienna they also burned the water station, the turn-table, and a railroad bridge near the town. It should be remembered that at that time all the railroad bridges were built entirely of wood, iron bridges being a later development. The raiders also "robbed all the stores in town and sacked private houses."<sup>18</sup>

Except for the affronts that were necessarily incident to ripping open the bedding, tearing up carpets, opening clocks and throwing down mirrors and other articles of furniture in a search for hidden money, and taking whatever they coveted, the men were respectful to the women along the way, and no violence was offered to any of them.<sup>19</sup> But they took food for themselves and forage for their horses wherever they found it. And their looting was thus described by General Duke, Morgan's second in command: "The disposition for wholesale plunder exceeded anything that any of us had ever seen before. . . . Calico was a staple article of appropriation —each man (who could get one) tied a bolt of it to his saddle, only to throw it away and get a fresh one at the first opportunity. They did not pillage with any sort of method or reason. One man carried a bird cage with three canaries in it, for two days. Another rode with a chafing dish, which looked like a small metallic coffin, on the pummel of his saddle, until an officer forced him to throw it away. Although the weather was intensely warm, another slung seven pairs of skates around his neck. . . . Passing through Dupont a new feature in the practice of appropriation was developed. A large meat packing establishment was in this town, and each man had a ham slung at his saddle."<sup>20</sup> In addition to

<sup>18</sup> New Albany Daily Ledger, July 11, 1863.

<sup>19</sup> Morgan and His Captors, page 141.

<sup>20</sup> Morgan's Cavalry, pages 436, 437, 438.

taking two thousand canvased hams from his pork house at Dupont, the owner's store was also broken open and robbed of clothing, boots and shoes, to the value of \$1,600 or more.<sup>21</sup> All blacksmith tools and other articles which could be of service to a pursuing force, if not carried away, were destroyed.<sup>22</sup>

Passing through Vienna and Memphis, both columns of the Confederate army marched to Lexington, six miles east of Vienna on the railroad leading from Jeffersonville through North Vernon to Greensburg.<sup>23</sup> The advance guard arrived at about eleven o'clock, and went into camp.<sup>24</sup> No organized resistance had been met on the second day of their advance into Indiana. But they shot five men that day, at different points along the way, all of them, it would seem, for attempting to run away when commanded to halt, upon suddenly meeting the invaders.<sup>25</sup> And similar outrages were committed on the rest of their march. The rear guard encamped at Vienna, and moved toward Lexington in the early morning,<sup>26</sup> reaching there about eight o'clock.<sup>27</sup> Lexington was then the county seat of Scott county. By cutting the railroad and telegraph lines at this point Louisville was cut off from communication toward the north, the other two lines having been already destroyed, and a raiding party having ridden around the city on the south and cut the telegraph wires in Kentucky. This was a party of 120 men which had left Morgan's command fifty miles south of the Ohio

<sup>21</sup> Morgan and His Captors, page 140.

<sup>22</sup> New Albany Daily Ledger, July 11, 1863.

<sup>23</sup> New Albany Daily Ledger, July 11, 1863.

<sup>24</sup> New Albany Daily Ledger, July 11, 1863.

Morgan's Cavalry, page 435.

<sup>25</sup> Morgan and His Captors, page 135.

<sup>26</sup> Madison Courier, July 14, 1863.

<sup>27</sup> New Albany Daily Ledger, July 11, 1863.

river, with directions to cross the river at Twelve Mile Island and rejoin the division at Salem,<sup>28</sup> and so well had they done their work that for two days New Albany and Louisville were almost entirely isolated.<sup>29</sup> At Lexington the Confederate troops were within ten miles of the Ohio river directly east of them, and within fifteen miles of the crossing at Grassy Flats, near Twelve Mile Island, where there was a ford.<sup>30</sup>

And at about three o'clock that afternoon the company which had been detached for a raid south of Louisville<sup>31</sup> attempted to cross the river into Indiana at the Grassy Flats,<sup>32</sup> but were intercepted by some armed steamboats sent up the river, and twenty men were captured on Twelve Mile Island one of whom was a captain, together with forty-five horses.<sup>33</sup> Part of the rebels succeeded in crossing into Indiana, but not in rejoining General Morgan. Forty-seven of them had a skirmish the next night with the Third Indiana Cavalry, when three were wounded and nineteen taken prisoners.<sup>34</sup> And on Saturday afternoon in a skirmish with what was believed to be the remnant of the same company, near Pekin, between Salem and New Albany, one was killed, five wounded, and twenty taken prisoners,<sup>35</sup> among them being Adjutant General Davis of Duke's brigade.<sup>36</sup>

<sup>28</sup> Morgan's Cavalry, page 428.

New Albany Daily Ledger, July 11, 1863.

<sup>29</sup> New Albany Daily Ledger, July 13, 1863.

<sup>30</sup> Indianapolis Journal, July 14, 1863.

<sup>31</sup> Morgan's Cavalry, page 428.

<sup>32</sup> New Albany Daily Ledger, July 11, 13, 1863.

<sup>33</sup> Official Record, Series 1, Vol. XXIII, pages 725, 729, 741, 745.

Madison Courier, July 14, 1863.

New Albany Daily Ledger, July 12, 1863.

<sup>34</sup> Official Records, Series 1, Vol. XXIII, page 733.

Madison Courier, July 14, 1863.

<sup>35</sup> Official Records, Series 1, Vol. XXIII, page 741.

<sup>36</sup> New Albany Daily Ledger, July 13, 1863.

At Lexington General Morgan slept in the town with a small escort, and during the night a party of Federal cavalry entered the town and advanced as far as the house where he was sleeping,<sup>37</sup> and in departing three of them fell into the hands of the rebels.<sup>38</sup> Morgan's men moved north early Saturday morning, along the railroad through Paris toward Vernon, a detachment being sent in the direction of Madison to hold there any troops who might prove troublesome if they came out.<sup>39</sup> As they approached the river bridge south of Vernon in the afternoon they found a party of Home Guards drawn up across the road, who refused a summons to surrender. The officer commanding asked for time to remove the noncombatants, which was granted,<sup>40</sup> and General Morgan hurried away on the road to Dupont, while the Home Guards were preparing for battle. His skirmishers burned a bridge or two, and kept up a show of attacking until the main body of the troops were far away to the east.<sup>41</sup> Union scouts who followed the skirmishers captured nineteen stragglers.<sup>42</sup> The railroad tracks were torn up and the telegraph wires cut south of Vernon, and a scouting party of the rebels penetrated to the Ohio and Mississippi railroad tracks west of North Vernon, and destroyed part of them.<sup>43</sup>

Darkness came on while the defenders of Vernon were awaiting an attack. Suddenly a great noise was heard of something splashing across the stream from the south and

<sup>37</sup> Morgan's Cavalry, page 437.

Adj't. Gen. Terrell's Report, Vol. I, pages 165, 187.

<sup>38</sup> Madison Courier, July 11, 1863.

<sup>39</sup> Morgan's Cavalry, pages 437, 438.

Official Records, Series 1, Vol. XXIII, page 733.

<sup>40</sup> Official Records, Series 1, Vol. XXIII, page 733.

New Albany Daily Ledger, July 13, 1863.

History of Dearborn and Ohio Counties (Ind.), page 221.

<sup>41</sup> Morgan's Cavalry, page 438.

<sup>42</sup> New Albany Daily Ledger, July 13, 1863.

<sup>43</sup> New Albany Daily Ledger, July 13, 1863.

rushing up the north bank, directly toward where a company of the militia had been stationed to guard a ford. The creek made a sharp turn at this point, and the top of a bank fifteen or twenty feet high was almost directly behind the guards. In the darkness and confusion a number of the defenders went over this bank and fell to the bottom, some of them being severely injured. The noise of the supposed attack was made by a large number of horses and cattle that had been collected south of the little river and were being driven across to the north side to avoid being stolen by the rebels.<sup>44</sup> The invading army was already miles away. But the list of the injured at the "Battle of Finney's ford," as it was called, was greater than at any encounter of the militia with Morgan's men in Indiana, after his first day in the State.

The detachment which had marched toward Madison rejoined the main army near Vernon, after it had turned east toward Dupont.<sup>45</sup> The Confederates camped just outside of Dupont at midnight, and moved the next morning at three o'clock, passing through Dupont a little after daylight.<sup>46</sup> But when the troops went into camp many of the officers sought entertainment in the village. General Morgan and his staff went to the home of Mr. Thomas Stout, and compelled him and his family to vacate the beds in which they were sleeping. Then, commanding the wife and daughters to have breakfast ready at four o'clock, and Mr. Stout to call them at that hour, the officers took possession of the beds and slept three or four hours. Partly by force and partly by promises of a liberal reward, Mr. Stout was induced to act as guide on their way eastward. Without allowing him time to eat any break-

<sup>44</sup> History of Dearborn and Ohio Counties (Ind.), page 221.

<sup>45</sup> Morgan's Cavalry, page 438.

Morgan and His Captors, page 140.

<sup>46</sup> Morgan's Cavalry, page 438.

fast after the officers had finished, he was put on a sharp backed horse, without a saddle and required to ride at a long trot for twelve miles until his knowledge of the roads was exhausted, when he was set on foot without any of the promised greenbacks to find his way home as he might.<sup>47</sup> Many of the Confederate officers breakfasted with the citizens of Dupont,<sup>48</sup> and some of them paid or offered to pay for their entertainment.<sup>49</sup> It was reported that they were two hours passing through Dupont, riding four abreast.<sup>50</sup>

The Home Guards had begun to retard the progress of the invaders by felling trees and bush-whacking.<sup>51</sup> But this was their first experience at fighting. They had not had the training which two years among the swarming bands of guerrillas had given their neighbors on the other side of the river.

They were so numerous, however, that General Basil Duke expressed the opinion that if they had come upon the Confederates as the fierce Kentucky Home Guards would have done when collected in such numbers, instead of waiting to be attacked while the enemy maneuvered around them, the Confederates could not have forced their way through.<sup>52</sup>

The Union troops were now close behind, having camped at Lexington the night before, at the same place where Morgan's men had camped the previous night, and gained several miles by going to Dupont in a more direct route, without passing Vernon. The Confederate rear guard left Dupont at eight o'clock Sunday morning, and General Hobson's ad-

<sup>47</sup> Morgan and His Captors, pages 141, 142.

Cincinnati Commercial, July 19, 1863.

<sup>48</sup> Morgan's Cavalry, page 438.

<sup>49</sup> Morgan and His Captors, page 143.

<sup>50</sup> Indianapolis Journal, July 14, 1863.

New Albany Daily Ledger, July 14, 1863.

<sup>51</sup> Madison Courier, July 11, 1863.

<sup>52</sup> Morgan's Cavalry, page 439.

vance guard arrived at one o'clock.<sup>53</sup> The Confederates were spending twenty-one hours a day in the saddle. But the pace was telling on them, and there was much straggling. At Dupont thirty stragglers were captured by a band of militiamen said to number only twenty.<sup>54</sup>

The Union troops, compelled to depend for remounts on the horses which the enemy had abandoned, supplemented by the few that they had overlooked, were riding as hard to overtake them. From Dupont to Versailles, a distance of twenty-five miles, the route lay through a country not reached by railroads or telegraph lines, and no report of the movements of pursuers or pursued reached the outside world. Nearly everybody believed the Confederates would attempt to cross into Kentucky at Aurora or Lawrenceburg, and not pass near Versailles.<sup>55</sup> When Morgan's advance guard reached Versailles, they dashed into the town where several hundred Home Guards were devising means of defending the place and broke up the council.<sup>56</sup> A young farmer, of the neighborhood, mounted on a fleet horse, started down the road at breakneck speed through Dillsboro, toward Aurora, shouting to everybody that Morgan was coming. He reached Aurora, twenty miles away, in less than two hours, and saved his horse from capture.<sup>57</sup> But none of the rebels followed after him, except to collect all the horses for several miles in that direction. They robbed the county treasurer at Versailles of \$5,000 of public funds,<sup>58</sup> and captured a large number of horses, rather better stock than they had

<sup>53</sup> Morgan and His Captors, pages 140, 142.

Morgan's Cavalry, page 138.

<sup>54</sup> Smith's History of Indiana, pages 378.

<sup>55</sup> Adj't. Gen. Terrell's Report, Vol. I, pages 165, 190, 191.

<sup>56</sup> Morgan's Cavalry, page 439.

<sup>57</sup> Versailles Republican, June 4, 1913.

<sup>58</sup> Adj't. Gen. Terrell's Report, Vol. I, pages 165, 190.



..shouting to everybody that Morgan was coming...

before obtained in Indiana, according to General Duke.<sup>59</sup> The acts of this young man and of other horsemen who dashed ahead to give the alarm whenever any of the invaders were seen on any road, led to reports being sent out that Morgan's main force was at Cross Plains<sup>60</sup> and at Dillsboro,<sup>61</sup> on the way to Aurora, and even that they had reached Aurora.<sup>62</sup> But the fact that my father, with his squad, picketed the road leading into Aurora that night and the next day, and that every man that my infancy knew who had not enlisted in the army, and many who had, were under arms to repel Morgan, and that my childhood was nourished on traditions of this raid, enable me to say positively that the main body of the invaders was not within a dozen miles of Aurora or Lawrenceburg. Detachments seeking horses probably visited both of them,<sup>63</sup> and all other places within many miles of the line of march on either side, pretending to be Home Guards or Union troops in pursuit of Morgan when they were stopped and questioned. They were not in uniform, but most of them were wearing clothes from the stores which they had pillaged, and riding horses which they had taken from Indiana farmers, not different from the clothes worn and the horses ridden by the Home Guards with which the country was swarming. I know from traditions that horses were stolen on the road leading along the river south of Aurora, and that at least two of Morgan's men were arrested when riding into Aurora, were taken before the commanding officer and by him released, as being Home Guards, and were re-arrested when riding north out of Aurora toward Sunman, and were

<sup>59</sup> Morgan's Cavalry. page 439.

<sup>60</sup> Madison Courier; July 13, 1863.

<sup>61</sup> Indianapolis Journal. July 13, 1863.

<sup>62</sup> Adjt. Gen. Terrell's Report, Vol. I. pages 165, 190, 191.

Foulke's Life of Morton. page 281.

<sup>63</sup> Indianapolis Journal. July 14, 1863.

sent to the military prison. The people of Aurora believed that Morgan and his men were coming, and the women and children and old men spent Saturday night in the woods on the hill overlooking the town. While parties of scouts were stationed along the roads toward the west and south, mounted on fleet horses, with instructions to bring the word as fast as a horse could gallop when the invaders came in sight, and bodies of Home Guards and soldiers were held at Aurora, and at Lawrenceburg, three miles away, ready to march out and meet Morgan on whichever road he might appear. The Ohio river had by this time risen more than six feet, so that it could not be forded at any place above the Grassy Flats, and as it was not believed possible that Morgan could get past Cincinnati, nobody doubted that he would attempt to cross into Kentucky at either Aurora or Lawrenceburg. Meanwhile he and his men were riding steadily northeast, nearly parallel with the general course of the river. The column which passed through Versailles reached there about one o'clock Sunday afternoon, and the rear guard left the town at four o'clock.<sup>64</sup>

A squad of sixty men moved on Osgood, five or six miles north of Versailles, and burned the bridge over Laughery creek on the Ohio and Mississippi railroad, and took the telegraph operator prisoner. They and perhaps some others then passed north along the Michigan road to Napoleon and turned east toward Sunman. From Osgood the railroad turned sharply to the southeast, through Moores Hill to Aurora, and one of the main columns of the invaders marched

<sup>64</sup> New Albany Daily Ledger, July 13, 1863.

But see Madison Courier, July 13, 1863, which states that Morgan's men rode through Versailles four to six deep and were from 5 to 10 o'clock in the forenoon in passing.

through Moores Hill, and thence toward Sunman, while others crossed the railroad at Milan and Piercerville.<sup>65</sup>

At one o'clock Sunday afternoon General Hobson's men were reported only a short distance behind Morgan's troops,<sup>66</sup> and they reached Versailles on Sunday evening, only four hours behind the Confederates, having gained an hour on them since leaving Dupont. That is, there was an interval of only four hours between the departure of the last of the Confederates and the arrival of the first of their pursuers.<sup>67</sup> The Union troops halted to feed their horses about a mile west of Versailles,<sup>68</sup> and at some time late that night or early Monday morning the main body of the Confederates also stopped in the woods west of Sunman.<sup>69</sup> They were doubtless spread out over several miles, on the different roads along which they were advancing, and one of the camps was reported to be near Napoleon. This camp was visited by some of the Home Guards from Morris,<sup>70</sup> who reported that Morgan had six thousand men and four pieces of artillery. Sunday forenoon a regiment of about three hundred men was sent down from Indianapolis as far as Newpoint, some fifteen miles northwest of Sunman. Here they left the train and marched toward Sunman, where they met a regiment and a smaller detachment that had come up the railroad from Lawrenceburg. The total number that were at Sunman that Sunday evening and night were not less

<sup>65</sup> New Albany Daily Ledger, July 14, 1863.

<sup>66</sup> Madison Courier, July 14, 1863.

<sup>67</sup> New Albany Daily Ledger, July 14, 1863.

Madison Courier, July 13, 1863.

<sup>68</sup> Official Records, Series 1, Vol. XXIII, page 659.

<sup>69</sup> Indianapolis Journal, July 14, 1863.

Morgan's Cavalry, page 439.

History of Dearborn and Ohio Counties (Ind.), page 222.

<sup>70</sup> Indianapolis Journal, July 14, 1863.

than twelve hundred Home Guards,<sup>71</sup> and were currently reported to be as many as twenty-five hundred.<sup>72</sup>

Some of Morgan's advance scouts had an encounter with these Home Guards in which one man of the Union force was killed, and the rebels fled south in the direction of Lawrenceburg and Aurora.<sup>73</sup> They were reported by the Home Guards to be a small detachment sent out for the purpose of destroying the railroad.<sup>74</sup> Unconscious of the presence of the main body of the invaders a short distance back in the woods, and fearing that Morgan's army would march down Manchester Ridge and find Lawrenceburg undefended, the militia at Sunman boarded their train at about four o'clock in the morning,<sup>75</sup> and started for Lawrenceburg by rail.<sup>76</sup>

Moving an hour later at about five o'clock on Monday morning,<sup>77</sup> in two converging columns, Morgan's advance crossed the Indianapolis and Cincinnati railroad at Weisburg, sixteen miles from Lawrenceburg, and at VanWeddon's Switch, two miles farther west, stopping only to tear up the railroad tracks and cut the telegraph wires, and turned toward New Alsace.<sup>78</sup> His rear guard, ten miles behind, having burned two Ohio and Mississippi railroad bridges near

<sup>71</sup> Official Records. Series 1, Vol. XXIII, pages 740, 741.

<sup>72</sup> Morgan's Cavalry, page 439.

Ajt. Gen. Terrell's Report, Vol. 1, page 165, 192.

<sup>73</sup> Official Records Series, 1 Vol. XXIII, page 741.

Indianapolis Journal, July 13, 1863.

<sup>74</sup> Official Record, Series 1, Vol. XXIII, pages 740, 741.

<sup>75</sup> Indianapolis Journal, July 14, 1863.

<sup>76</sup> Official Records, Series 1, Vol. XXIII, page 741.

New Albany Daily Ledger, July 13, 1863.

Indianapolis Journal, July 13, 14, 1863.

Morgan's Cavalry, page 439.

<sup>77</sup> Morgan's Cavalry, page 439.

<sup>78</sup> Official Records, Series 1, Vol. XXIII, page 740, 743.

History of Ohio and Dearborn Counties (Ind.), p. 222.

Moores Hill, and the depot at that place, left Moores Hill at one o'clock Monday morning,<sup>79</sup> and at about noon, on Monday, reached a point east of New Alsace, in Big Tanner's creek and on the Logan Ridge beyond, where they stopped to feed their horses. A small party of the scouts rode south from New Alsace along the ridge about three miles, looking for horses, where they shot and killed a neighbor of my father's, John Sawdon, in his front door yard, without cause or provocation so far as those who saw the act could learn. The total number of persons who were thus killed by Morgan's men in their passage through the State has never been compiled, but it was probably not less than eighteen or twenty. On the next ridge, a mile away across the creek, two of my father's neighbors who resisted the scouts with shotguns and turned them back, escaped a like fate by dropping their guns and running away through the woods.

The Confederate advance pressed on and reached Harrison, where they crossed the White Water river, and passed into Ohio, the advance guard arriving at about one in the afternoon.<sup>80</sup> So close was the pursuit that General Hobson's advance passed through New Alsace only two hours after the last of Morgan's men were gone. As they approached Harrison, the scouts riding in advance of the Union army were within four miles, about one hour's ride on worn out horses, of the last of the raiders.<sup>81</sup> The first of the Union troops reached Harrison about dark,<sup>82</sup> and this was near the middle of July, when the sun did not set until long after seven.

<sup>79</sup> New Albany Daily Ledger, July 13, 14, 1863.

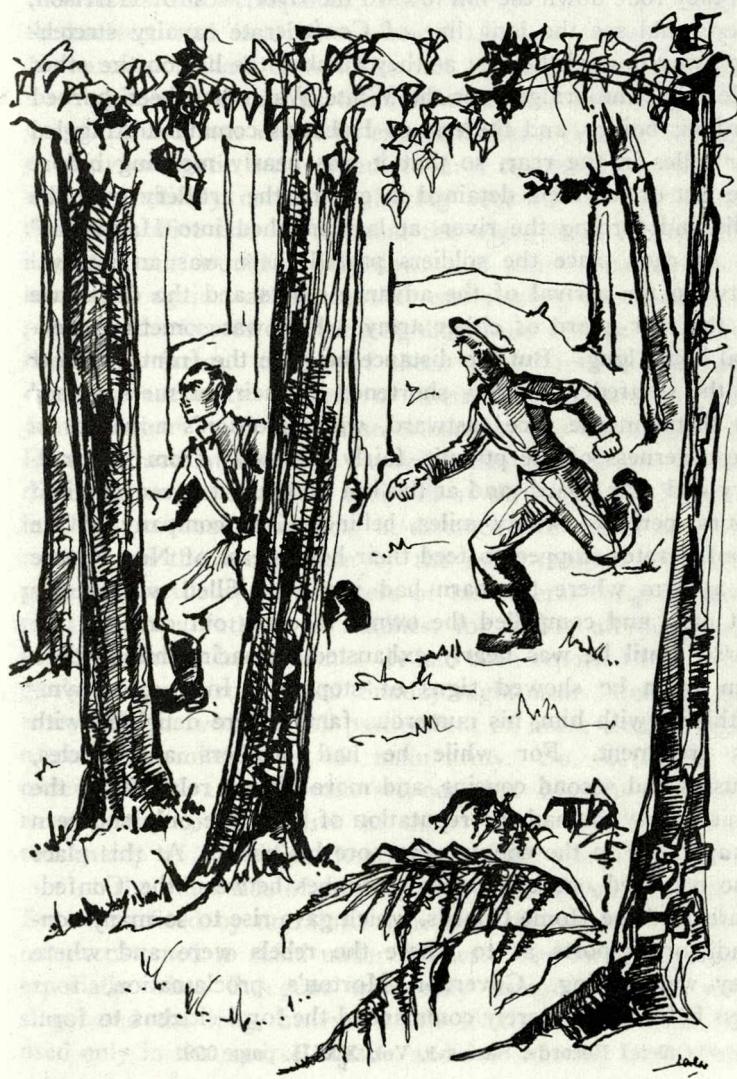
Madison Courier, July 13, 1863.

<sup>80</sup> Morgan's Cavalry, page 439.

<sup>81</sup> Official Report, Series 1, Vol. XXIII, page 659.

Madison Courier, July 16, 1863.

<sup>82</sup> Official Records, Series 1, Vol. XXIII, page 659.



...running away through the woods.

As they rode down the hill toward the river, west of Harrison, they could see the long line of Confederate cavalry stretching away toward the east as they climbed the hill on the other side. But the bridge over the White Water had been burned an hour before, and the rest of Hobson's command straggled for miles in the rear, so that it was nearly morning before the last of his men, detained in getting the artillery over the hills and fording the river, at last marched into Harrison.<sup>83</sup>

At each place the soldiers passed there was an interval between the arrival of the advance scouts and the departure of the rear guard of either army, which was sometimes several hours long. But the distance between the front and rear of the Confederate army shortened as their pursuers gained on them, in the race eastward, while Hobson's advance, in the eagerness of the pursuit, fairly ran away from his artillery and rear guard, and at the last had left it seven or eight hours, perhaps twenty miles, behind. One company of the Confederates stopped to feed their horses east of New Alsace at a farm where the barn had just been filled with newly cut oats, and compelled the owner to carry out oats for the horses until he was nearly exhausted, menacing him with a gun when he showed signs of stopping. Instead of sympathizing with him, his numerous family were delighted with his treatment. For while he had brothers and uncles, cousins and second cousins, and more distant relatives in the Union army, he had the reputation of being the only southern sympathizer in the county who bore his name. At this place also occurred one of the many clashes between the Confederates and the Home Guards, which gave rise to so many contradictory reports as to where the rebels were and where they were going. Governor Morton's proclamation, four days before, had merely commanded the loyal citizens to form

<sup>83</sup> Official Records, Series 1, Vol. XXIII, page 659.

themselves into companies, elect officers, arm and mount themselves, and hold themselves subject to further orders. No provision had been made for forming the companies into regiments, except as this might be done by "further orders." But it was not to be expected that a company of fifty or sixty energetic men, organized in a township where there was no military command, having reported at the nearest telegraph office and learned that the wires from Indianapolis had been cut, would sit idly down and wait for some one to lead them against an enemy that was stealing the horses and pillaging the homes of their neighbors, and advancing toward their own farms. Scores of these bands, left without any directing authority, set out on their own account to "find John Morgan." One of these companies was commanded by Doctor Jonathan Flood, a physician who also was a Methodist preacher, in charge of a circuit of three country churches in Dearborn county, varying in distance from three to seven miles from the route taken by the rebel troops. His company was made up of members of his several congregations, most of them fathers of families, for nearly all the young men were away in the army. It had been reported that Morgan's troops were seen on Sunday night near Sunman, and everybody knew that small parties bent on horse stealing were often many miles from his main army. So, in default of orders, Flood and his men set out that Monday morning, ranging the country north of their homes. As they came out on top of the ridge, they saw a picket guard of several men on the other side of a ravine and began shooting at them. But shots fired by untrained men from the backs of horses not accustomed to stand under fire were not very dangerous, especially when the guns were only shotguns loaded with slugs, and the long, heavy, muzzle loading rifles, ordinarily used only in the squirrel season, and for shooting hogs at the

annual butchering. The pickets retreated slowly through the woods, over the brow of the hill, as the foremost of the Home Guards charged down into the hollow and up the hill after them. As the pursuers came up on level ground they saw great numbers of soldiers on horseback stretching away in each direction, hastily formed in line of battle to meet an attack. Wheeling about they galloped madly away, believing and telling everybody they met that Morgan's whole army was after them. And though frightened off the direct road to Lawrenceburg by an unfounded report that Confederate troops had been seen on that road, they galloped in a roundabout course, eighteen or twenty miles, and never stopped until they rode into Lawrenceburg, still firmly convinced that an army was on their track. But Morgan's men, glad to see them running away, had hastened off toward the east. Two or three of the foremost Home Guards, however, had followed so closely after the fleeing pickets, that the pickets turned on them after giving the alarm and took them prisoners. Their horses (and each was mounted on the fleetest and best horse he had) were taken from them, and they were compelled to accompany their captors on foot to Harrison, where they were detained until evening, after the bridge had been burned. They were then released, and having waded the river through water up to their necks they started to climb the long hill toward home. Two or three miles out they met a column of horsemen, in nondescript clothes covered with dust, who halted them and demanded to know who they were. They answered that they were farmers on the way home from town. But, believing these were some more of the rebels, one of the men added that they were southern sympathizers, which the others did not contradict. The questioners proved to be the Union advance guard, and the men again found themselves prisoners, and were compelled

to walk back to Harrison and wade across the river. At Harrison they were recognized, and were again released, long after dark, and permitted to wade the river a third time, and to start on a ten mile walk toward home.

The invasion of Indiana was at an end, but not the bloodshed. A report that Morgan was at Harrison reached Lawrenceburg, with the further report that he had turned south and was advancing upon Lawrenceburg to capture it and cross into Kentucky. Two regiments of militia were immediately ordered to positions two or three miles northeast of the town, near where Lawrenceburg Junction is now located. A canal then led up the valley of the Miami river, along a right of way on which the Indianapolis and Cincinnati railroad was afterward built, and at this point a great bend in the old channel of the river brought it nearly to the foot of a steep hill along which ran the highway with the canal just below it. This narrow place in the valley west of the Miami river was chosen to make a stand against the expected invasion. In marching out to the position assigned to it one of the regiments came to where the road doubled sharply on itself and climbed twenty-five or thirty feet up the hill-side in getting from a little hamlet called Hardentown out upon the highway leading toward Harrison. Some of the men in the rear, not knowing of this turn in the road, and doubtless made nervous by the darkness and fear of an attack, saw the men at the head of the regiment outlined against the sky on the bank above, apparently marching toward them, and mistook them for rebels. A gun that accidentally went off at the front made those in the rear sure they were meeting the enemy and they fired. The advance, of course, believed the enemy was in front of them and returned the fire. Five men were killed and nineteen wounded, one so severely that he died. Besides the private soldiers, the wounded included

two captains, two lieutenants and three sergeants, while a sergeant was killed, and the man who died of his wounds was also a lieutenant. Nor did the lack of military rank in the Home Guards indicate that the soldiers were men of no distinction. For among the wounded who held no military office was David S. Gooding, then a political power among the radicals, who had been a state senator and was afterwards a circuit judge. And men of every rank and station in civil life were carrying muskets during the trying days of that week.<sup>84</sup>

The people along the line of the flight and pursuit, who had been plundered by the invaders, and had then been compelled to furnish horses, food and forage to their pursuers, waited several years for compensation for their losses. At length, in 1867, under a resolution of the General Assembly, a commission was appointed to pass on the claims, amounting to nearly half a million dollars. The State finally allowed and paid claims amounting to \$413,599.48, of which more than \$85,000 was paid for damage done and property taken in Washington county, including the sacking of Salem, and \$1,661.97 was for military supplies requisitioned for the State and Federal troops in Marion county. In the meantime many of the losers had sold their claims at a heavy discount. After years of haggling the United States government finally reimbursed the State in part.<sup>85</sup>

Here our tale ends, for the theme is exhausted. Morgan fled with his army several hundred miles through Ohio, checked and turned aside, and losing men by capture and in battle as he went, and was finally captured with the remnant

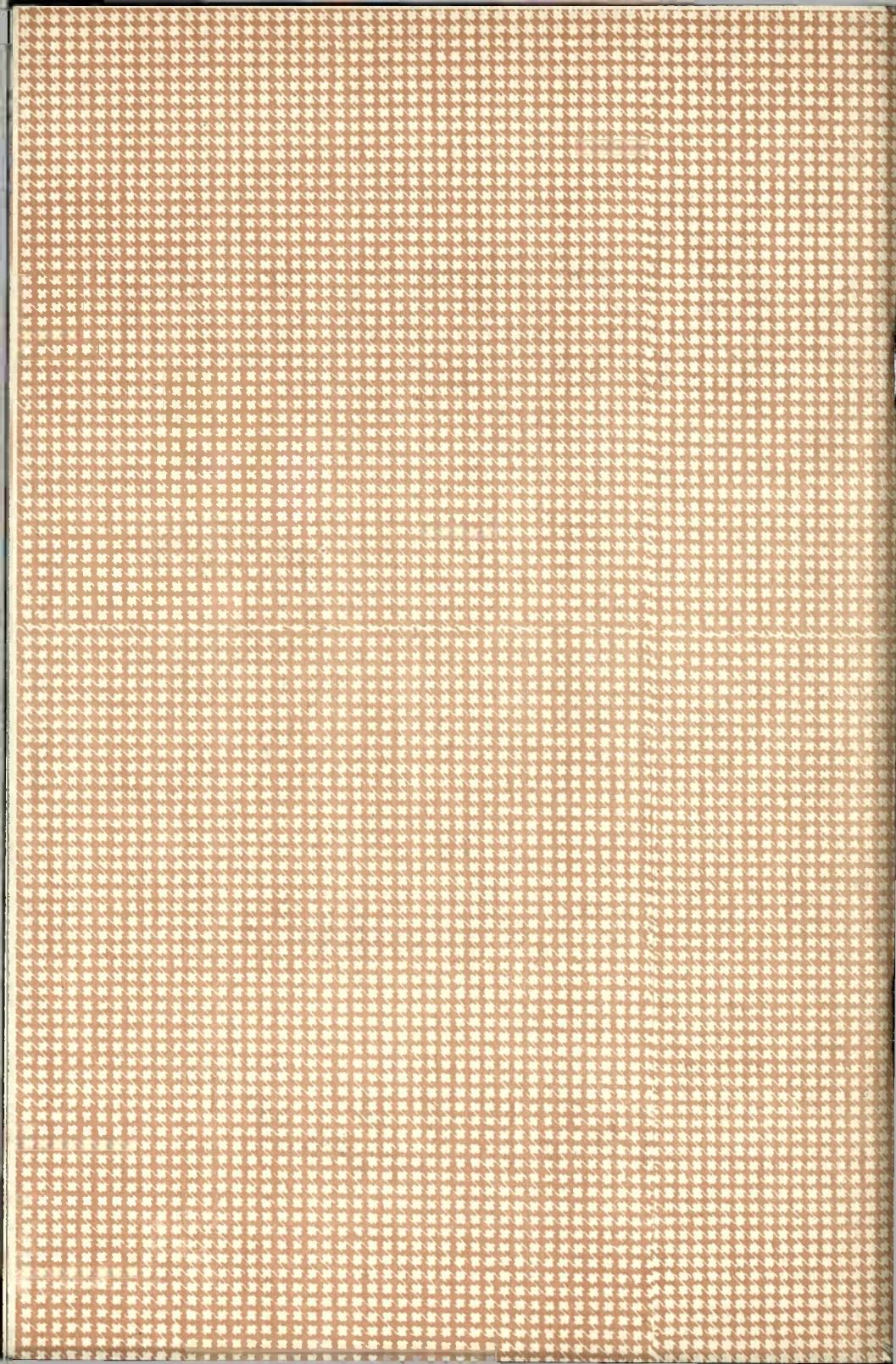
<sup>84</sup> Adj. Gen. Terrell's Report, Vol. 1, page 165, 195.

History of Dearborn and Ohio Counties, (Ind.), page 223.

Smith's History of Indiana, page 379.

<sup>85</sup> Smith's History of Indiana, page 380.

of his command, far toward the north, hastening in the direction of Pennsylvania. But that all occurred outside of our State. And since that Monday night, on the thirteenth of July, 1863, when the last of the Confederates rode through Harrison into Ohio, there have been no acts of war by hostile troops within the state of Indiana.



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# INDIANA HISTORY BULLETIN

Volume V

Extra Number 3

July, 1928

INDIANA BULLETIN

## RECOLLECTIONS OF THE CIVIL WAR

By

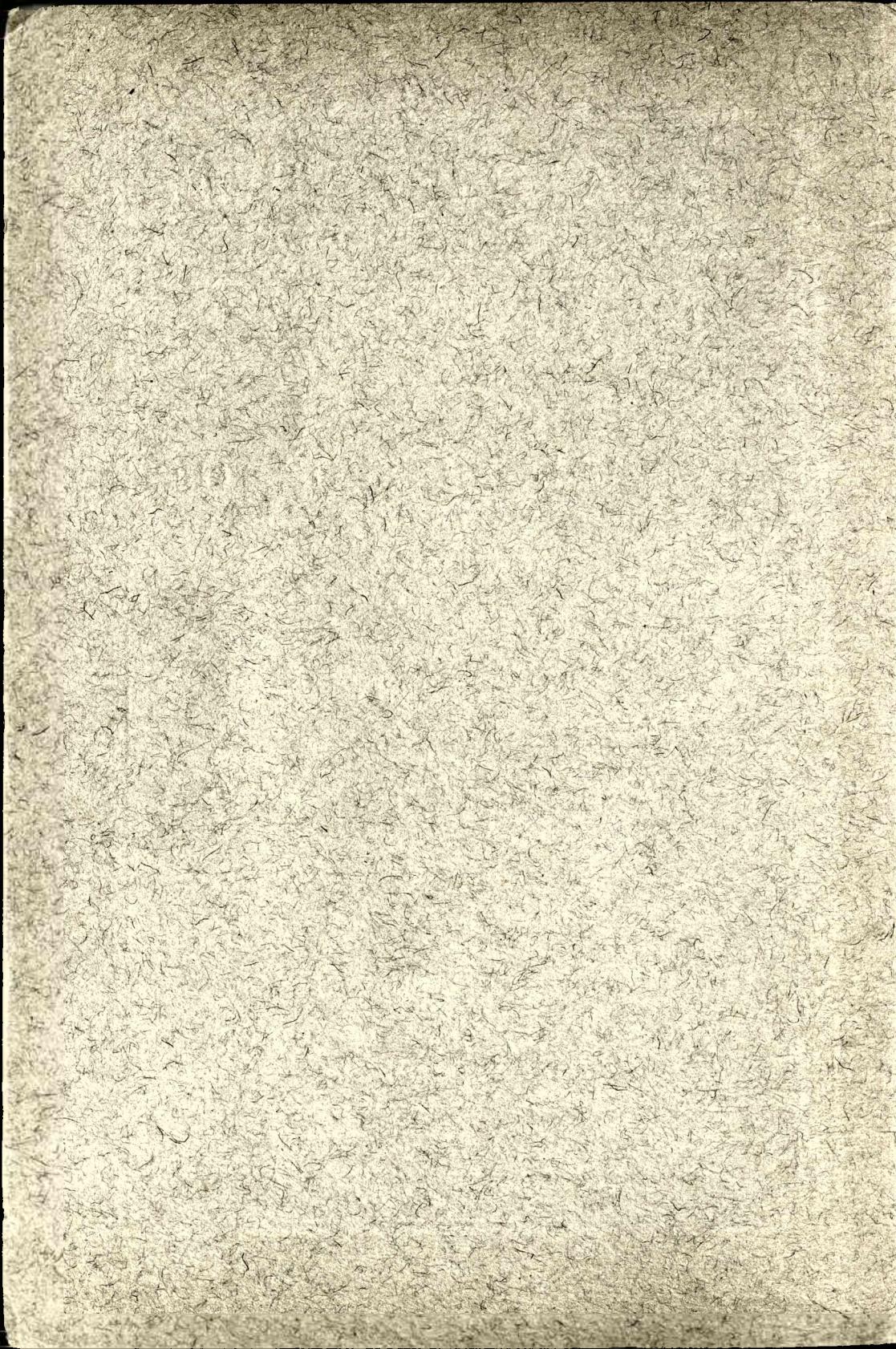
ORAN PERRY

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## **RECOLLECTIONS OF THE CIVIL WAR**

By

**ORAN PERRY**

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**SECOND EDITION**

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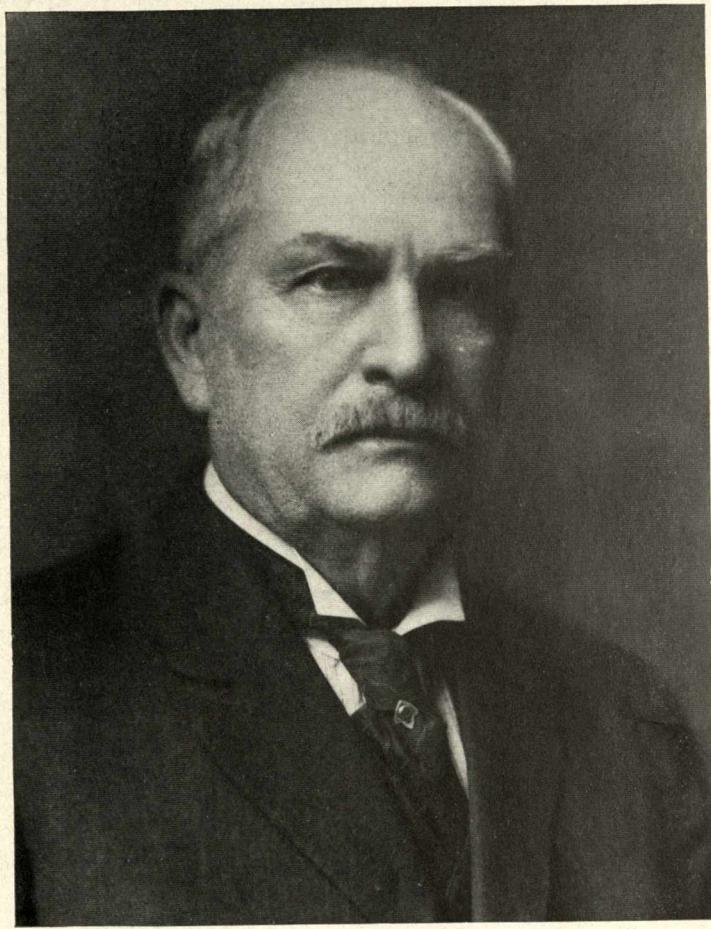
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Oran Perry.

## A Minute with Lincoln

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In the early days of October, 1861, shortly before the battle of Ball's Bluff, our regiment, the Sixteenth Indiana, under Colonel Hackleman, was camped near Darnestown, Maryland, in the upper Potomac country. I was the Sergeant Major of the regiment and had asked for Sunday leave of absence to take dinner at the village tavern.

On my way to town I fell in with three soldiers of the Twelfth Massachusetts. After dinner we tilted our chairs back against the south front of the house facing the road about forty yards away, enveloping ourselves in the smoke of Havana cigars which had exhausted our combined resources to purchase. Soon after, four men in an open barouche stopped at the road front and remained seated in conversation for several minutes. When finally one of them alighted, his tall form looming above the landscape, one of the boys exclaimed, "Why, I believe that is Lincoln," and then simultaneously but without thought of intrusion we rose and moved forward for a close view, stopping at a respectful distance.

Mr. Lincoln had his back to us and seemed to be talking to the occupants of the carriage, two of whom we recognized from pictures we had seen in the newspapers as General McClellan and Secretary Seward. Suddenly the President turned about and faced us, much to our confusion, which evidently he noticed, but he quickly relieved us by approaching us with an outstretched hand, saying in a friendly tone of voice, "Why, boys, how do you do," a genial smile spreading over his face. The Twelfth Massachusetts boys being nearest, he shook hands with them first, inquiring where they belonged, and upon their replying, "Twelfth Massachusetts, Colonel Fletcher Webster," he seemed pleased and said, "I hope he will prove to be as good a man as his father [Daniel Webster]."

Then, turning to me and shaking hands in a cheery way, he said: "Well, where do you hail from?" and when I replied "Sixteenth Indiana, Colonel Hackleman," it seemed to surprise and please him very much, for he shook hands with me a second time and began to ply me with questions about the

Colonel who he did not know was serving in the Army of the Potomac and who he said was the best friend he had in Indiana. He asked for the location of our Camp, and said if he got through in time with business on which he came, that he would drive over and call on the Colonel, but he did not come and I never saw him again. Just at this point in our conversation a carriage carrying four gentlemen came from the west, and he went out to meet them; after greeting them he turned toward us again and waved his long arm which I interpreted as another friendly message to my Colonel.

I hurried back to Camp to tell the Colonel the news with my emotions at the boiling point; for up to that time all that any of us knew about Lincoln was the adverse descriptions of a partisan press. I was prepared (if I ever met him) to see something like a gorilla, and the disillusion had aroused my indignation to the highest pitch. After the Colonel had listened to my story, he said, "Well, what did you think of him; which was he most like, a baboon or an ape?" To which I heatedly replied, "Why, Colonel, that ape story is all a damned lie, for he has the best face I have ever seen on a man."

## A Dismal Night in Dixie

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The sun rose in a blue sky over the unfriendly city of Memphis, that crisp 20th of December, 1863, and shone encouragingly on the weary soldiers who had spent the greater part of the night in embarkation. By ten o'clock the boats comprising the great fleet of Sherman had slipped their moorings, backed out into the river, and were drifting about in a helpless sort of a way as if uncertain what to do next.

The interest and excitement of getting under way was augmented by the stern commands of captains, the picturesque but practical profanity of the mates, the quaint intoning of the gray-headed old "uncles," and the weird chorus of their colored brethren of the crew, while the hoarse, discordant whistles, the clang of the bells, the fitful throbbing of the engines, the swash of the water under the wheels, the swelling current and the careening boats, together with the lowering clouds of dense black smoke belched forth from more than a hundred funnels, caused a confusion that invited collision and spread much uneasiness among the troops who packed the frail craft. But the cool heads and skilled hands of the pilots gradually wrought order out of chaos, and one by one the unwieldy steamers dropped into line to begin their stately march down the river. I can see them yet; the "Forest Queen," "Sam Gaty," "Empress," and "Belle Peoria," the "Continental," "Polar Star," "Jesse K. Bell," "War Eagle," and "Dic Vernon," the "Duke of Argyle," "City of Alton," "Des Arc," "Henry Von Phul," and half a hundred others, interspersed with the gunboats of Porter, stretching away down the river with flags flying, bands playing, and troops cheering, a magnificent sight, grander and more impressive than anything we had ever seen. Sullen white citizens lined the banks of the river, silently watching us pass out of sight, and prayerfully hoping that they might never see us again. Hordes of black citizens, with all the fervor of their race, sang hosannas to the fleet, and with hat and hoe, bandanna and bonnet, waved Godspeed, until the last boat passed around the bend.

We were 30,000 strong, and known as the "Right Wing of the Thirteenth Army Corps," commanded by Sherman and divided into divisions, first, second, third, and fourth, under command of Generals A. J. Smith, Morgan L. Smith, George W. Morgan, and Fred Steele, in the order named. Our regiment was attached to Sheldon's brigade, 3d division. We sailed on the "Sam Gaty," a steamer so old and rickety that anything which might have happened to it would not have surprised us in the least. It was so infested with bedbugs, cockroaches, and lice that we sometimes heartily wished the old tub might sink to escape from them.

We were bound for Vicksburg by the way of the Yazoo back door. In his memoirs General Sherman says: "The essence of the whole plan was to reach Vicksburg, as it were, by surprise, while General Grant held in check Pemberton's army about Granada, leaving me to contend only with the smaller garrison of Vicksburg and its well known strong batteries and defenses."

The expedition entered the Yazoo River on Christmas afternoon about five o'clock, landed some troops at Mrs. Lake's plantation, and tied up for the night. Next morning we steamed up the river about twelve miles and disembarked at Johnson's plantation, on an island about five miles wide, formed by the Yazoo River and the Chickasaw bayou, which latter followed the course of the bluffs on the south. The enemy made but feeble resistance at this point, escaping the shells from the gunboats by retiring to their stronghold on the hills.

The outlook was anything but inviting. Our landing place was at the highest part of the island, which, not long before, was a flourishing plantation, but the buildings had been destroyed and gaunt chimneys stood useless guard over the ruins. Fences were down and rank weeds contended for mastery with the ragged-looking, half-picked cotton stocks, while scores of circling buzzards blackened the sky, a fitting complement to the desolate scene. The ground sloped southward to the Chickasaw bayou. A winding, weedy road ran down towards Vicksburg, crossing the bayou at a shallow ford and leading up the steep hill on the other side where the enemy was strongly entrenched. As we moved towards the bayou, the country assumed a still more forbidding aspect. There were a number of old corn and cotton fields, vast stretches of uncultivated

land, now and then great marshy cane-brakes, which looked as if they might have been the abiding place of snakes, alligators, and everything else that was hideous. Skirting the bayou was a dense wood, chiefly live-oak, whose great spreading branches were draped with ghostly gray moss, which, with every impulse of the wind, and especially by fire light, assumed shapes so weird and fantastic that the spectator was filled with something akin to awe. The woodland was low, dank, and noisome. The decaying vegetation which covered the black, slimy soil and the luxuriant poison ivy which clung so gracefully to the trees and festooned the fallen timber, spread death and disease among the invaders greater than the enemy could have hoped to accomplish with shot and shell. It cost our regiment alone nearly one hundred lives, and many men are yet living who still suffer from the poisoning "up the Yazoo." Overflows were evidently of annual occurrence along the bayou and through the wood, the trees showing a distinct watermark ten feet high. In its erratic course the current had scooped out along sloughs of varying depth, and here and there had burrowed pitfalls for the unwary, while under the roots of the giant oaks it had dug caverns large enough to lodge a dozen men.

Into this wood in line of battle, under the artillery fire of the enemy, we made our way on the afternoon of December 27, coming out again in the evening. Tried it again on the next day, gaining nothing more than a knowledge of the ground, but on the 29th orders were given for battle, with A. J. Smith on the right, Morgan L. Smith and Morgan next, with Steele on the left. Our division was to cross the ford, Morgan leading in person, Blair of Steele's division, supporting. At three o'clock the signal was given, but our general, instead of leading, sent DeCourcey's brigade across the ford, holding Lindsey in reserve, and planted our brigade along the bayou about half a mile below the ford, with orders to protect the pontooneers while they laid a bridge, and then to charge across, this forlorn hope to be led by the Sixty-ninth Indiana.

The whole thing was a disastrous failure. DeCourcey got lodged under the bayou's bank, Blair's men were slaughtered like sheep, while we were ingloriously pinned to the bayou's bank, so close that a man could not turn over without danger of being shot. Several of our men were killed or wounded in this way. The enemy allowed the pontooneers to lay the

bridge about one-quarter of the way across, then turning their cannon on it, smashed it to a million pieces, for which I have never ceased to thank them.

The battle was over and our regiment still held its humiliating position. Evidently we had been forgotten. Waiting for orders until his patience was exhausted and the day nearly gone, the Colonel sent me back to hunt up the brigade commander, report the situation and get definite orders. I was adjutant of the regiment at that time. I wish some one could have held a kodak on me while I executed that commission. Such twisting and dodging, such ground and lofty tumbling, such diving into pits and reluctantly crawling out again, such sprinting from a little tree to a bigger one. The pictures would be worth showing. It would be hard even to guess how many times I was shot at, or tell how close they shaved me without hitting. I still feel the excitement when I think of it. In one of my dashes for life I fell all over Captain Finley of Company A, who had reached a big tree just a moment ahead of me. He had been to the rear on an errand of some sort and was on his way back. We talked it over for a minute or two and concluded if we stayed there much longer and thought about it we never would go. So we shook hands and made a dash in our different ways and I was soon out of range. I began to hunt for brigade headquarters, tramping around the wood for half an hour or more, asking everyone I met, without gaining anything for my trouble. I was about giving up in despair when I spied Lieutenant Lacey, of "Ours," an Aid on the Brigade Staff, sitting on a log smoking his pipe, idly toying with his sword and looking as disconsolate as the "lone fisherman." I hastened to join him, glad to see he was unharmed, though I dreaded to ask him about the rest. With regard to their safety he soon set my fears at rest, and in answer to my inquiry as to the location of headquarters he piloted me to a large oak nearby, where, in a cave scooped out under the roots by the water, were snugly stowed the Colonel commanding the brigade and two or three of his staff. I think I must have shown my surprise and I know I was filled with disgust that he should have thus sheltered himself while at least one of his regiments was still under fire. How long he had been there I do not know. To his credit, be it said, at no time did Lieutenant Lacey take shelter there with him.

Without waste of time I made my report and was instructed to tell Colonel Bennett to withdraw his regiment in any way that his judgment would dictate to avoid loss, to select a camping place in the wood, and send word of its location. The regiment was drawn off, a company at a time, and bivouacked on the north edge of the wood near a big slough, with orders to build no fires for fear of discovering our position to the enemy. The guns were stacked by companies in column and the men, tired, hungry, and discouraged, sat down on their knapsacks, munched dry hard-tack, and damned the war.

The Colonel and staff had neither shelter nor food, and as nothing had been eaten since morning, the cook was sent to the fire limit in the rear to prepare something for us, but he had gumption enough not to come back when he found out what kind of a night it was to be. After he was gone, the Colonel suggested that I could kill some time by hunting up the headquarters again and notifying them where we could be found. This I did, and fearing the cook might not find his way back in the dark, I concluded to ride to the rear where the sutlers were as thick as grasshoppers and get something to eat on my own hook.

It was growing dark and a gloom was settling over everything. The road was filled with stragglers all headed to the rear, trudging along in a tired, sore-footed sort of a way, but with a dogged persistence that showed that each man had a well-defined object in view. Whatever it was, no one was making it known, for there was no conversation between them. Without cohesion or apparent community of interest they plodded along, turning neither to the right nor to the left as I overtook them, but leaving me to thread my way among them the best I could. For some time I wondered what could be the meaning of this strange unorganized movement just at this time of the evening, when it suddenly dawned on me that they were all on the same errand as myself, and that each man had quietly stolen out of camp on the hunt of a sutler, never dreaming of how many men were like-minded.

A prominent feature in the evening landscape were the big army wagons, heavily laden with ammunition, engineered by stalwart drivers whose sulphurous profanity struck such terror into the hearts of the timid little mules that they fairly tore up the ground beneath them and snatched the wagons along as if they were so much straw.

At one place, drawn up alongside the road waiting their turn, were fifteen to twenty ambulances filled with the wounded of the day's battle, whose moans and groans filled me with compassion. As there was nothing I could do to alleviate their suffering, I hurried by to get beyond hearing, only to be harrowed by other horrors of war. Just ahead was a field hospital, with a number of log fires surrounding it for comfort and illumination. It was a busy place. Ambulances were constantly arriving and discharging their loads of mutilated humanity. Surgeons and attendants were hurrying here and there, performing their duties rapidly and humanely. Those whose wounds had received attention and were strong enough to stand the trip were being forwarded to the boats.

Off to one side of the tent and a little back from the road lay a row of the dead, the pallor of their faces made more ghastly by the fitful firelight. The babe in its cradle never slept more placidly than one or two of those I saw there, in startling contradiction to the violence of their taking off. Another poor fellow with open staring eyes, parted lips, uplifted, outstretched arms, seemed pleading for his life, while the mutilated bodies of many others bore such evidence of the agonies they had suffered that I felt death had been their best friend when he released them.

Turning from this gruesome sight into the road again, I observed a large number of fires that had sprung up just ahead, and concluded I must be very near the sutler's haven. The first thing I came across was a big fly on the left of the road with such a bright, cheerful fire burning at the side that I could not resist the attraction of it. I rode up, dismounted and made the acquaintance of a genial, hospitable quartermaster, who fed my horse, gave me a drink of commissary whiskey, invited me to supper, and furnished me with a good cigar. Was anybody ever in such luck? I stayed with this "good Samaritan" a little while after supper, smoking his cigar, toasting my shins at his fire and listening to his fascinating stories. His face is still fresh in my memory, but his name and his regiment I have forgotten years and years ago. I never saw him again after that night. Resisting his tempting offer of a night's lodging, I parted with him with reluctance, and mounting my horse struck out for camp. The road was clear now, but as the rain had begun to fall, I drew my cape over my head, settled myself well in the saddle, gave my horse

free rein, and trusted to luck to find the camp. I had jogged along at a pretty good gait for about half a mile when I was startled by a flash on the hills ahead, followed by the deep boom of a heavy gun, then, with that cyclonic rush and demoniac shriek that freezes the marrow in your bones, there passed over my head, seemingly near enough to touch it, an enormous shell, which struck the ground and burst two hundred yards to the rear of me. My horse crouched to the ground in abject terror and it was with great difficulty that I could spur him to his feet again and convince him that he was alive and unharmed. This shot was simply a reminder from the enemy that they were still in business at the old stand, and from that time on until daylight, at intervals of twenty to thirty minutes, they raked the woods from east to west with shot and shell to the great discomfort and danger of everyone within reach. I hurried on to camp to find the Colonel in a volcanic state of mind over the failure of the cook to show up. I seconded his emphatic opinion of a man who would thus leave us in the lurch and agreed that killing was too good for him, but I carefully refrained from saying anything about having had my supper.

During my absence he had discovered and taken possession of an ammunition wagon which stood about seventy-five yards in the rear of our line, and we lost no time in getting out of the rain. The wagon was filled with boxes of ammunition nearly to the top of the bed, but the high bows covered wth canvas made quite a roomy tent of it. Our preparations for bed were very simple indeed. The Colonel pulled off his boots, folded them under his head, drew himself up into a knot, covered his feet with the tails of his overcoat, and looked comfortably settled for the night. I had lain down on my back, bunched my cape under my head for a pillow and thanked Dame Fortune for providing for me so luxuriously. For awhile I listened to the firing of the guns and studied the flight of the shells until I could almost predict the time of their return to our neighborhood. Thus relieved of constant apprehension of danger and soothed by the patterning of rain on the canvas I fell into a sound sleep. It lasted about half an hour, when I was awakened by a shell crashing through the tree tops over our heads and raining down limbs, branches and twigs on our canvas roof.

The Colonel declared he would stay in the wagon no longer,

that he hadn't slept a wink for thinking what would be said of him if he should be killed under a wagon cover while the men were floundering around in the mud and rain. He pulled on his boots, crawled out into the darkness and rain, and I saw him no more until morning. Before going he very kindly absolved me from official attendance on him and insisted there was no impropriety in my remaining under cover if I chose to do so. I stayed in the wagon, but I could not sleep. My mind was actively going over the events of the day and each time it would bring me around to the dead men, now lying outside the hospital tent in the pitiless rain, and plainer than all I could see the pleading man with the outstretched arms, staring eyes and parted lips. The night was yet young and the prospect of passing the rest of it in the wagon alone with my heated imagination was giving me the horrors. I crawled to the end of the wagon and peered out into the darkness with the hope that I might find some one who would share the canvas with me and relieve the lonesomeness of the situation. Disappointed in this I lay down again with a determination to cultivate thoughts more cheerful and borrow no trouble, but just then there was a boom from the big gun on the hill and a moment or two later a shell exploded in the camp immediately on our right. There was an agonized shriek, the confused voices of many soldiers, a few sharp cries of pain, each growing fainter until they ceased altogether, and then in my mind I could see the dead man as plainly as if I had been standing beside him. That settled it. I wouldn't have stayed in that wagon another minute for a thousand dollars. I crawled out to take the chances with the rest, and hunted for a big tree to put between myself and our tireless enemy. As I groped around in the inky darkness some one cried out, "Look out, don't knock my house down," and I recognized the friendly voice of Captain Sam Miller of Company D. He had made for himself a good shelter on the north side of a thick tree by a combination of his oil-cloth blanket with a few branches of a tree and was comfortably perched upon a cracker box. He kindly invited me to share it with him, and for several hours we talked and smoked, heedless of the cannon on the hills. But every good thing has an end, and a shell came sailing through the top of our tree, cutting off branches, and down went our house. I made no further attempt to secure shelter; indeed, there was no real necessity for it, for the

rain had changed to a fine mist, and the moon, recently risen, had lighted it up enough to get about without much difficulty. I strolled around to see what the rest were doing. The most of them were lying on thick beds of moss, covered with their oil-cloths and apparently asleep. Many were sitting against trees and lapping over each other four or five deep, others were on their feet huddled in little groups for company's sake, while the tired guards with capes over their heads and hands in their pockets dragged wearily up and down in front of the gun stacks, longing for the break of day.

A few minutes were sufficient to take this all in and I cast about for some other way to kill time. It occurred to me that I would like to go forward to see how things looked along the bayou and get a good sight of the flash of the guns on the hills. As I could find no one with equal curiosity, I went alone. It was familiar ground, made so by the events of the day, and, aside from tumbling into the pitfalls two or three times, I made my way to the bayou without much trouble. Night had made a marked change in the scene. The hills were outlined in bold, rugged silhouette against the leaden sky. A death-like stillness prevailed up and down the bayou, in striking contrast to the stirring scenes of a few hours before. The opposite bank which had bristled with muskets all day long was evidently deserted, for I moved along the bank without molestation and I thought how easy it would be to lay a pontoon now while the enemy were napping. I had come out to see the flash of the cannon and I concluded to make myself comfortable while I waited; so I filled my pipe and passed around to the north side of a tree, more to insure the lighting of a match than anything else. It was no sooner fairly lit than there was a discharge of half a dozen muskets across the bayou, the bullets striking the trees all around me. I collapsed and sank down between two roots of the tree that projected themselves like arms of a big rocker. I was greatly surprised to say the least. My heart beat at the rate of one hundred a minute when I thought how easily they could have killed me when I moved along the bayou bank and how thankful I was that they didn't. Their shot was simply a warning one and I heeded it. My curiosity was satisfied. I didn't want to see the cannon fired. I had no interest whatever with anything or anybody on that side of the bayou. I determined to stay where I was until morning. With nothing to excite my imag-

ination or claim my attention the strain was relieved and the relaxation was followed by a sweet, sound sleep.

It was daylight when I awoke and I cautiously made my way back to camp to find everybody astir and discussing the events of the night. As far as was then known there had been no casualties in our ranks, which was cause for rejoicing. Later on, however, on the outskirts of the camp there was noticed a bed of moss covered with an oil-cloth blanket, under which could be traced the outlines of a human form which lay so motionless that it aroused the gravest apprehension. For some moments there prevailed among those who saw it that natural hesitancy and dread to know the worst until one comrade, bolder than the rest, with bated breath and that peculiar, softened, serious expression that every one assumes in presence of death, led the way on tip-toe until he stood beside the prostrate form. Looking about him for a moment, as if bracing himself for the ordeal, he quickly stooped and lifted the cover of the oil-cloth and saw the fresh, fair, chubby face of a seventeen-year-old soldier, who awoke, looked up wonderingly into the anxious faces of his comrades and smiled. The changes that passed over the face of the bold soldier were more rapid than the telling. From apprehension to astonishment, from astonishment to chagrin. It usually makes a man mad when a serious matter ends in a joke, if the joke is on him, and our comrade was no exception to the rule. Quickly straightening himself he fairly roared, "Why, damn you, I thought you were dead," and angrily snatching off the blanket and planting a vigorous kick in the ribs of the unoffending cherub, he shouted, "Get out of here, where the h—l have you been all night anyway?" "Been," yelled the youngster indignantly, rubbing his bruised ribs, "why I've been asleep, where do you suppose?" And sure enough he had slept soundly, without waking, through the whole of the dismal night.

## The Entering Wedge

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"The possession of the Mississippi is the possession of America."

*General W. T. Sherman*

It had rained nearly all winter, and the Mississippi was flowing bank full. The Army of the Tennessee, weary of body, sick at heart, lay hugging the levees and the few patches of dry land about Young's Point, while Vicksburg securely sat on her hundred hills, grimly smiling at our discomfiture.

Three months before we had gaily sailed away from Memphis in what was called the "Castor Oil Expedition," a name suggestive of speedy results. We had expected by this time to have gone to the Gulf of Mexico and back again. On the map it seemed an easy thing to do, and the newspapers assured us there was nothing particular in the way.

The army had waded all over the country waist deep, and "wherever the ground was a little wet, the gunboats had been and made their tracks," but notwithstanding our great expectations and persistent endeavors, every attempt to pass the city or gain a foothold on front, flank or rear, had resulted in dismal failure, and now we were at work in the big canal hoping in due time that the great flood which had hindered us so much in other operations, might be turned to good account at last, and be made to aid us in our voyage to the sea.

These were the dark days of the war; confinement on crowded boats, exposure to weather, lack of wholesome provision, and Yazoo water, had yielded us many thousands sick in the hospital, and an exceedingly large number unfit for full duty in camp. The wail of the fife and the doleful roll of the muffled drum could be heard at almost all hours of the day. We were so surrounded with water, and had so little ground to spare, that the question of a burial place became a serious one.

To add to the prevailing gloom, every boat from up the river brought news of the most depressing character. The Army of the Potomac was at bay and no headway being made anywhere. Volunteering was dragging, and in many places the draft was

being resisted. Timid, loyal people, far from the scenes of strife, almost despairing of the Union, wrote despondent letters to the men in the trenches. The Copperheads had declared the war a failure and were howling for peace on any terms. The proclamations of the President, freeing the slaves and arming the freedmen, were used by these virulent enemies of the government to arouse the old prejudice against the "nigger" and induce men to desert, in many instances making their appeals in person. Almost every regiment felt the effect of this influence by the loss of from one to twenty men. One of these reptiles trailed through our camp. He hailed from Indiana, and was one of the most poisonous kind.

Up to this time we had lost no men, but in a day or two three or four were missing, which aroused the wrath of the Colonel to such a pitch that, dragging himself from a sickbed and calling out the regiment, he poured forth a denunciation of Copperheads and cowards in a style peculiar to Tom Bennett alone, and made such a magnificent appeal to the patriotism of the men that the current was completely turned, and the old spirit of '61 once more possessed them. The Copperhead was fired from the camp and sought safety by flight up the river. The Colonel builded better than he knew, for a large number of officers and men of neighboring regiments, attracted by the crowd, came over to see what was going on, and swayed by the eloquence of his speech, heartily joined the answering cheers. The spirit of the times spread from camp to camp like a revival, and desertions were at an end.

About this time the rising flood broke through the head of the canal, sweeping away most of the tools and all of our hopes of passing Vicksburg by the Williams cut-off, stubbornly refusing to finish the task we had begun and spitefully spreading itself over the fields about us, necessitating a change of camp.

Nothing daunted, the great commander moved us twenty-five miles up the river to Milliken's Bend, where he began his preparations for that last and successful movement which has no parallel in the history of warfare, which was the turning point in the rebellion, and in which, as a pioneer, our regiment, the Sixty-ninth Indiana, was fortunate in bearing a prominent and honorable part. A campaign which, in the language of the southern historian Pollard, "was one of the most successful and audacious games the enemy had yet at-

tempted. In daring, in celerity of movement, and in vigor and decision of its steps, it was the most remarkable of the war."

General McClerland of the Thirteenth Corps was given the task of finding for the passage of the army a practicable route from Milliken's Bend to New Carthage, about twenty-five miles below Vicksburg, where in due time it was expected we would meet the gunboats which were to run the batteries and ferry us over the river. The flood was still at its height. The rivers and bayous were over their banks, well-known roads were out of sight for miles, and the probability of finding a route without a wide detour to the west seemed extremely doubtful. But the experiment had to be tried, and it only remained to select somebody to do it.

It is the special pride of the Sixty-ninth that it was selected by name to seek out the route for the army in this wonderful campaign, and a lasting credit that it was successful in every particular. I quote from the official records of the war of the rebellion, series 1, volume 24, page 495:

HEADQUARTERS, THIRTEENTH ARMY CORPS,  
March 30, 1863

*Brigadier General P. J. Osterhaus, Commanding Ninth Division:*

General—You will order one regiment, armed and equipped with forty rounds of ammunition in their cartridge boxes, an ammunition wagon laden with suitable ammunition, their camp and garrison equipage and four days' rations, to report opposite these headquarters at 8 o'clock tomorrow, for further orders. I would suggest that the Sixty-ninth Indiana, Colonel Bennett, be detached for the service contemplated.

By order Major-General McClerland.

WALTER B. SCATES,  
Lieutenant Colonel and Adjutant-General

HEADQUARTERS, THIRTEENTH ARMY CORPS,  
Milliken's Bend, March 30

*Colonel Bennett, Commanding Sixty-ninth Indiana Volunteers:*

Colonel—Besides your own regiment, will have command of detachments of cavalry and pioneers for the purpose of the important expedition with which you are charged. The main purpose of the expedition is to open a practicable communication for our forces via Richmond, La., between this camp and New Carthage. Of course, the shortest route, whether by land or water, all other things being equal, would be preferable. It is certain that there is a navigable communication between Richmond and New Carthage, by Roundaway and Bayou Vidal, and it is also believed that there is a road along the bank of Roundaway Bayou almost the whole distance. That route which you can make available

for the passage of troops and trains with the least labor and shortest time you will select and make available at the earliest practicable moment. The detachment of pioneers, as already mentioned, will be at your command for that purpose, and Lieutenant William R. McGomas, aide-de-camp and engineer on my staff, will give any assistance in his power. If a practicable route be found, you will not only consider it with reference to passage, but also with reference to its capability of defense, and for this purpose you will select and report suitable sites for posts or garrisons along it. If no practicable route can be found, you will immediately report that fact.

Starting tomorrow you will march to Richmond, and upon personal examination you will decide, in view of military considerations, whether you will camp on this or the other side of Roundaway Bayou. Upon reaching the bayou at Richmond, it may be found expedient to cross the cavalry first, and send it forward rapidly, under orders to scour the country around Richmond, as far as water will permit for the purpose of capturing hostile parties, preventing the destruction of cotton and other property, verifying the names and political antecedents of its owners and bring in beef cattle.

All cotton abandoned by its owners or forfeited by treasonable acts, may be brought in and condemned by a Provost Marshal for the use of the United States, in which case the particular lot of cotton, and facts relating to it, will be reported to these headquarters. You will also report to these headquarters daily of the progress of your operations. Any reinforcements you may request will be properly forwarded. While you are authorized to draw provisions and forage from the country, giving receipts to owners, payable upon satisfactory proof of their loyalty at the end of the rebellion, you will be strict and prompt to prevent marauding. Let nothing be taken except by your orders.

Until otherwise ordered, you will report to these headquarters, through your Division Commander, Brigadier General Osterhaus.

Your obedient servant,

JOHN A. MCCLERNAND,  
Major-General Commanding

We spent the greater part of the night getting ready, and next morning, March 31, at eight o'clock, the little force, headed by the Colonel and his staff, filed out on the road to Richmond. It consisted of two companies of the Second Illinois Cavalry, with a Howitzer battery; the Sixty-ninth Indiana Infantry, the writer in charge, a large company of pontooniers under Captain Patterson, with a long train of pontoons and steamboat yawls. We called ourselves the "Argonauts," and were about 1,000 strong. The men of the neighboring regiments turned out by the roadside to see us off, and we were subjected to the witticisms usual on such occasions.

It was an exceedingly beautiful day; the sun shone as we had

not seen it for months. The sweet south winds were gently blowing, bringing health and good cheer to the languishing soldier. The fields were already green and the hillsides were sprinkled with flowers. The trees were rapidly putting on their summer dress and the mocking-birds were all atune. The gobbling turkey and cackling hen, the hissing geese and grunting swine, the bleating flock and lowing herds, lent an additional charm to the landscape, and the heart of the "forager" beat high with joy. This at last was the "Promised Land." We trudged along cheerfully until late in the afternoon we were brought upstanding by the big bayou which runs in front of Richmond, the passage of which was disputed by a considerable force of the enemy.

The impracticability of laying a pontoon bridge under fire was soon demonstrated. Losing no time we brought forward, launched, and manned twelve or fifteen yawls under the personal direction of the writer and, supported by the troops on the banks overhead, the crossing was successfully made, only one man in the party receiving a slight wound and an Illinois Cavalry man being killed. We chased the enemy through the town into the country beyond, exchanging shots without casualty on either side, but capturing ten or twelve prisoners and a large rebel mail on its way to Vicksburg and the east. I afterwards understood that our Generals obtained enough valuable information from that mail to make our expedition a success, even if we had failed in other ways. The rest of the regiment soon followed, leaving the pontooneers to lay the bridge for the cavalry at their leisure.

The next morning, April 1, we began scouring the country below Richmond and by the evening of the third had worked our way down to Smith's plantation on the Bayou Vidal, when our march came to an abrupt end. The outlook was anything but encouraging. To the south as far as an eye could reach the country was like a sea. Carthage was yet several miles away, and from all accounts, under water.

Generals McCleernand and Osterhaus came down and stayed all night with us, and the dinner we gave them of sweet potatoes, fried kid, stewed chicken, and coffee with real cream in it, I reckon they will never forget. The result of their visit was a determination to take to the water and find, if possible, some high point of ground on the river bank that might eventually be reached by the army.

A reconnoissance was made in skiffs by General Osterhaus and Colonel Bennett, who found that a landing could be effected on the levee a few miles below. Immediately setting about to get ready for sea we brought forward and took possession of a large scow belonging to the plantation; we boarded it up as high as a man's head, cut portholes in the sides and ends, arranged the seats and oars like a war galley of old, mounted it with howitzers and ran up the pennant of the Admiral. Altogether she was something to behold. We christened her the "Opossum," but what was the special significance of the name I am not at this late date able to tell.

Launching enough yawls to make proper tonnage to carry the field and staff and Companies A and F, the embarkation took place about one o'clock on the afternoon of April 7 and the fleet set sail amid the good-natured guying of the boys we left behind us. It was a quaint voyage. Spread out like a line of skirmishers, we rowed down the bayou, across the fields, through the woods; at one time locking with the thick, heavy limbs of the trees, and then again anchoring in the stubborn undergrowth with which the woods were covered. In one of the bayous we struck a strong current flowing to the northward and after we had pulled against it for about half an hour, it suddenly and mysteriously turned as strongly to the south, hurrying us along at steamboat speed.

We passed New Carthage under water and finally came in view of a high, broad levee, defended by twenty-five or thirty of the enemy. They were not at all disposed to allow the marines in the yawls to land, but when the "Opossum" hove in sight and gave them a broadside with the howitzers they were simply paralyzed.

The gunboat had always been an object of terror to our Confederate brother, and now here was one more hideous than he had ever seen before, walking across the country, down behind the levee, into the back-door yards. One look was sufficient, and abandoning all thought of defense of country, homes, and firesides, away they went at the top of their speed and we after them, helter-skelter, pell-mell down the levee, through the lawn of the plantation, for a moment losing themselves among the negro quarters, then past the sawmill, down the levee and into the woods below. We stopped at the sawmill, steaming hot and out of breath, the net result of the chase being one dead rebel cavalryman and the occupancy of

75 or 80 acres of high ground surrounding the mansion, readily defensible from the south and well stocked with everything under the general term of "forage."

We lost no time in strengthening our position, and in short time had made a strong barricade of logs at right angles with the river and fronting toward the enemy on the south. Anticipating no attack from the river, we gave that side no attention.

From the colored people, of whom there were twenty or thirty on the plantation, we learned that about two miles down the river was Perkins' plantation, where there was a good boat landing and enough ground to hold a big army, and what they called "an army" of rebels was camping there now. With this information the Colonel and Major hurried back to Smith's plantation where Generals McCleernand and Osterhaus were anxiously awaiting them, leaving with me the little battalion to hold the fort.

After arranging for the night I turned my attention to the mansion, which up to this time had shown no signs of life. It was a large, roomy house on a commanding site, a basement and two stories, wide galleries all around it, and a balcony on top. Accompanied by the Adjutant I ascended the broad, imposing flight of stairs to the gallery and knocked at the door, which, after some delay, was opened by a tall, slender, dark-complexioned man with an abundance of long, iron-grey hair brushed behind his ears, apparently 65 years of age, who, with the air of a grandee, begged to know what he could do for us, immediately adding that he supposed that our business was rather with Harrison's battalion than himself, incapacitated by age from defending his country, but that he was proud to say that he was ably represented by four sons in Harrison's battalion who would be glad to measure lances with us at any time. Such being the case he begged that further intercourse between us might cease, and with a magnificent wave of his hand he bade us goodnight.

Unawed by his grandiloquence we told him we thought he did not fully appreciate the situation; that our presence on his place could not so easily be ignored; that in time he might come to take a great interest in us; that for several days we had been doing our best to make the acquaintance of Harrison's battalion, without success, and that we now thought a number of them were concealed in his house; and we would be

glad to have them produced and save ourselves the trouble and himself the mortification of searching the house.

His interest in us was aroused at once, and after a good deal of talk about every man being a king in his own castle he protested in the strongest terms against the idea that he was hiding men that should be in the field and in arms, asserting that none but his household were under the roof, and entreated us to take the word of a southern gentleman, incapable of lying even to save his life. The idea of searching his house seemed so utterly abhorrent to him that we told him we would take his word for it, and we politely bade him good-night and happy dreams, not neglecting, however, to place guards at all doors of the house, an unnecessary precaution as we afterward learned. Our cheerful acceptance of his word won his friendship as far as he could consistently give it to an enemy, and the next day he invited us to take quarters in his house.

This haughty old man interested me very much. He was the first southerner of the ultra type with whom I had ever come in personal contact. He was as proud and punctilious as a Spaniard, as courteous as a Knight of the Round Table, and possessed of a polished sort of egotism that was very charming in him. He was a firm believer and staunch defender of every political and social dogma of the south, and an active participant in all the measures that had plunged the country into war, having been a member of the Legislature that passed the ordinance of secession, a lithograph copy of which hung on his parlor wall. His name was Joshua James, and his greatest regret was that he had not been able to sign the secession ordinance as conspicuously as had John Hancock the Declaration of Independence.

He was possessed of a good share of physical and moral courage, and when we first came did not hesitate to berate us soundly for hanging around his house instead of going out and fighting Harrison's battalion like men. He seemed to think we were a lot of marauders sent down to punish him for the part he had taken in secession, and for a day or two quite enjoyed his martyrdom. Notwithstanding his uncompromising hostility to our cause and his grandiose championship of his own, he had many admirable traits and we grew to like him very much. In one way and another he was a prominent figure in the daily events during our stay at Ion.

The next day the Colonel came down with the rest of the regiment, leaving the cavalry to look up some roads to the west of Smith's plantation. His orders were to hold the position we had gained, at all hazards, until the gunboats ran the blockade, which would probably be a day or two at farthest.

About noon the next day the enemy showed up in considerable force, planted some artillery and kept us busy dodging shells for three or four hours. In response we did a good deal in the way of sharpshooting and made a big fuss with the howitzers, with what effect I never knew.

While this was going on we noticed Mr. James promenading on the second gallery, and the Colonel sent me up to take a walk with him. The old gentleman disclaimed any intention of signaling his friends, but was frank enough to say that he had come up hoping to see us taken in by Harrison's battalion. He evidently expected great things of the battalion, and was quite dejected when he finally saw them withdraw. They came back again next day and kept us in a very unhappy frame of mind until the sun went down. As night closed in we turned our faces toward Vicksburg and listened longingly for the big guns up the river.

To no one was night more welcome than the darkies of the plantation. The abject terror of these poor people during the shelling was the most pitiful and at the same time the most comical thing I ever saw. At the firing of the first shell they would rush for the barricade, wedge themselves under the logs, and aside from the rolling of eyes as big as saucers would lie there perfectly motionless and speechless all day long. No amount of coaxing, kicking, or cuffing would move them. If you picked one up and stood him on his feet he would make no resistance, but if you once let go of him, he would sink down in a heap like a lot of jelly and without any apparent effort roll under the log again.

The wreck of the "Indianola" lay against the bank of the other side, and during the night some of our boys went over in a yawl, brought away the steam pipe, mounted it on wheels and planted it behind our works, making a faint attempt to screen it behind some bushes. Then the Colonel took Company G down the levee a little way and burnt a house that had been affording their pickets shelter during the day and stood in the way of giving our "Quaker" gun a clean sweep.

They came up smiling next morning, planted the guns as

usual, and began the daily grind. We showed ourselves around the place pretty freely, but made no reply. Suddenly they ceased firing, and there was a great deal of running to and fro, seeking positions for use of field glasses, and then to the relief of ourselves and our colored friends they limbered to the rear. With our "Quaker" gun we had gained a bloodless victory for the day, but we sat up late that night still listening for the guns up the river.

In the meantime the dangers, discomforts, and anxieties of the situation were largely offset by the splendid bill of fare furnished at the expense of the unwilling host of Ion. Every day the stock became a little smaller. Every day Mr. James begged the Colonel to set aside something that he might call his own, to save him the humiliation of eating the bread of Uncle Sam, until one day the Colonel told him that this was war, something perhaps he had not taken into consideration when he had so readily voted for secession; that he would probably be bankrupted, and in time the bread of Uncle Sam would be very sweet to him. He turned away without reply as if yielding to his fate, but in a day or two he came to our room in a high state of excitement and indignation saying that he recognized our right as an enemy to take whatever was necessary for the subsistence of the troops, but there was a point where in all common decency the line should be drawn. He said: "Your men have used up all the cattle, sheep and hogs; have robbed all the hen roosts and sucked all the eggs; have eaten the pet rabbits and now, Colonel, they are about to kill three calves only two weeks old."

"Only two weeks old," shouted the Colonel, with a nervous twitching at the corners of his mouth and an expression of intense disgust spreading over his face. For the moment we thought the old confederate had won his suit, but after a gasp and a gulp or two the Colonel's loyalty overcame his nausea and he blandly replied, "My dear Mr. James, if the boys can stand it, you certainly can." This was the last straw, and the old man never after made another protest. He accepted the situation with resignation, and it was one of our greatest pleasures during the rest of our stay to keep his larders well filled from the abundant stores of "Uncle Sam."

Late in the afternoon of April 16, to our great surprise, we saw the smoke of a steamer down the river, and we hurried up to the balcony to get a better view of her. The cold chills

ran up and down our backs when Mr. James told us that it was the rebel ram "Queen of the West" which had sunk the "Indianola" a short time before, and our hair fairly stood on end as we looked down on our flank so exposed to the river. She came slowly steaming up, and we momentarily expected to see the enemy file out of the woods in our front. We summoned up all hands and disposed ourselves as best we could for safety and defense. With bulging eyes we watched her as she came almost on our flank, then turned her nose towards us, then her broadside, and then to our great amazement and relief steamed majestically down the river without firing a gun, and to this day I can't tell why unless it was simply a reconnaissance preparatory to an attack by land and water. We felt as if a few more experiences like that in such an exposed, helpless place would turn our heads grey; so the Colonel hurried the Adjutant off to Smith's plantation with a report of the affair.

The next day we were joined by the Forty-ninth Indiana who brought the welcome news that the gunboats would run the blockade the next night. We were exceedingly glad to see them. For sixteen days we had been on the outpost, our nerves at high tension all the time, and we were beginning to want to share the responsibility and anxiety with some one else. They assisted us in fortifying the river front, and in a short time we were ready for the "Queen," the "Webb" or any other gunboat. Late in the afternoon the steamer made her appearance down at Perkins' plantation, but came no farther. We were afterwards told that she was landing troops from Grand Gulf, reinforcing those already there, with the intention of attacking us next day. This was Mr. James' supposition at the time, and he seemed very happy to think he was to be relieved of us so soon.

In anticipation of the coming event of the night the officers of the Forty-ninth joined us in the second gallery of the mansion. It was a beautiful night, and our spirits were at high tide. We had an unusual number of good singers among us and someone, I don't know who, introduced for the first time the now well-known song of "Rally Round the Flag." It was a catchy air, well suited to the occasion, and we sang it over and over again until we were almost in a camp meeting frenzy. Mr. James sat with us enjoying the melody, even if he did not concur in the sentiment, and expressed great admiration

for us that we were able to enjoy ourselves so much with the almost certain prospect of defeat and capture staring us in the face. The Colonel, thinking it a safe time to disabuse his mind, told him frankly that we were on our way to Vicksburg, that the gunboats and transports would pass the batteries that night, and in a few days Grant's Army would file through his front dooryard; that the Confederacy would be split in two, and that we were simply the Entering Wedge.

His amazement was so great that it took him some little time to realize it all. He had not once thought of the possibility of such a thing, and now he could understand why we had held on so tenaciously to Ion. Poor Garrison's battalion! All of his fond hopes for it as a defender of his country were scattered to the winds. He admitted that if we ever set foot on the railroad track back of Vicksburg that their cause was lost, and that would be the time to sue for peace. But he took comfort in the old saying "there's many a slip 'twixt the cup and the lip."

The boats had not yet run the batteries, and the army was not yet over the river. About 11 o'clock when the excitement was at the highest there came from up the river a heavy boom, then another, and another in quick succession, until the air was filled with deep bellowing of the guns. Then a great light went up and brightened the sky for an hour or two and speculation was rife as to the cause. It remained an open question until the next day when it was found to have been the burning of the ill-fated "Henry Clay."

The firing did not cease until about 3 o'clock, when we parted company, strong in the hope of success. We turned out after a nap of two or three hours, but found no boats in sight. About 8 o'clock we sighted three or four barges floating down the river, which we towed in and tied to the bank. They were loaded with the camp equipage of several divisions of the army, and we took from one of them a brand new silk flag, and in bravado hoisted it on the balcony of the mansion, where it could be seen alike by friend and foe.

The morning hours dragged on slowly, and between our faltering hopes of success above, and apprehension of attack from below, we were in a very troubled state of mind. But about noon "we saw the smoke 'way up the river, where the Linkum gunboats lay," and we made a rush for the balcony

to find Mr. James there ahead of us. The old man was very grave, the pallor of his face furnishing evidence of the trouble and excitement of the past few hours. All morning he had been buoyed up with the hope that the venture was a failure, but now he stood on the balcony, his face turned eagerly up the river with the despairing look of the gambler about to cast his last dice. We, too, earnestly scanned the river, hoping for the best. At last, just at noon, there steamed around the bend the "Benton," then the "Louisville," and in quick succession the "Tuscumbia," "Carondelet," "Lafayette," "Mound City," "Pittsburgh," "Cincinnati," and the transport "Silver Wave," and a great triumphant shout went up from every throat in Ion, save one.

The old man gazed at the fleet a few moments in a dazed sort of way, and then as if suddenly realizing the tremendous consequences to follow threw up his hands exclaiming, "My God! This is the entering wedge," and kneeling down, bowed his head on the railing, sobbing as if his heart would break. Feeling that further exultation in his presence would be but bitter mockery we quietly slipped away, leaving him still kneeling, with the flag of our country floating caressingly over his troubled head.

In the course of half an hour the boats had all tied up or anchored in front of the mansion, and the celebration that followed was something to be remembered the rest of our lives. It was interrupted long enough to allow the Forty-ninth and Sixty-ninth to march down to Perkins' plantation, preceded by a gunboat shelling the woods. The enemy had withdrawn to Grand Gulf during the night, doubtless having had the news of running of the batteries by telegraph from Vicksburg. We returned to Ion, and that night gathered up our singers, went on board the "Benton," and sang for Admiral Porter and General Grant for two or three hours. There was nothing too good for us on the "Benton" that night.

Wednesday, April 27, at 4 A. M., the Forty-ninth and Sixty-ninth broke camp, turned our backs on Ion forever, and by six o'clock were in our quarters at the splendid camping ground at Perkins. Here ended the special service for which we had been detailed; a successful mission, full of danger, adventure, and anxiety, not unmixed with pleasure; an honorable and distinguishing service, having piloted to this

rendezvous the army which was destined to win immortal fame in one of the grandest campaigns in the history of the war.

During our occupancy of Ion we had sent several excursions by water to the west, operating in connection with the cavalry from Smith's plantation, and had found by making a detour of several miles west, a practical route from Smith's to Perkins' plantation, the water having subsided enough to allow the passage of troops, and by this road the army came pouring in. In the meantime a fleet of seven transports and a number of barges had run the batteries at Vicksburg and were now tied up at Perkins. On these we embarked on the morning of April 29. Then came Grand Gulf, Port Gibson, Raymond, Jackson, Champion Hills, Black River, and Vicksburg.

The Confederacy was split in two and "The great river went unvexed to the sea."

## The Sergeant of Company F

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"Kind hearts are more than coronets,  
And simple faith, than Norman blood."

*Tennyson*

I remember the first time I ever saw him. It was at the mounting of the guard. He was a large-boned, angular man, a little stooped in the shoulders, awkward of mien, and approaching middle age. His hair had not yet been reduced to the regulation standard, and a heavy brown beard fringed his plain face. He was wearing his first suit of blue, and evidently had accepted everything issued to him without protest. His trousers were a little too long, his coat a little too short, and he had yet to learn how unpardonable was the sin of appearing at parade without it buttoned up to the chin. An undersized infantry cap clung timidly to his head, while his loose belt was sagged low down in front by the weight of the misplaced bayonet. Awkwardly clasping the trigger guard of the gun in a futile attempt to carry arms, and standing at attention in a position entirely his own, he presented a picture painfully bordering on the grotesque.

I was just fresh from the Army of the Potomac where style was everything, and as I looked at the unpromising subject before me I wondered why they had enlisted him, and what they expected to do with him. I watched him as he marched away with the guard, vainly trying to keep step to the gay music of the band, and I thought I never had seen any one so completely out of tune with all the surroundings.

Reflecting upon it afterward, I remembered that when explaining the duties of the guard he had given me the closest attention, that I never looked in his direction without encountering the wistful gaze of his soft brown eyes, and I recalled a touch of pathos in his homely face that made me curious to know more of its owner.

I wondered what moved this man of peace, at his age, to take up a line of life so foreign to his nature, so uncongenial to his tastes. Had the world used him ill; had he nothing to leave behind, or had he some sorrow which he hoped to drown

in the din of strife? Else why did he enlist? I could account for myself, for I was young and my patriotism was supplemented by a love of adventure and the promptings of ambition.

But this man puzzled me. They told me he had quitted his farm; left behind him his wife, children and friends; taken on himself the hardships of an enlisted man's life, for no other reason than a conscientious belief that it was a duty he owed to his country in her time of need. I could hardly realize such a sacrifice as this, and it had to be proven before I could believe it.

Evidently he had good standing among his friends, for he was elected a Sergeant at the organization of his company.

I noted from time to time his progress in the art of war; his uphill contests with the tactics; his disheartening struggles with the manual, as well as his earnest endeavors to qualify himself as a non-commissioned officer. Always on the side of discipline he gave his officers an unquestioned support, while his firm but gentle enforcement of all orders entrusted to him won the abiding respect of those subordinate to him.

His even-handed justice in the performance of his duty as Commissary of the Company is held in affectionate remembrance by all of his comrades to this day. The hardships of the march, the vexations of the camp, never seemed to disturb his equanimity, while duties both disagreeable and dangerous were performed with unfailing fidelity.

In spite of my preconceived ideas of what constituted a model soldier, I could see that they were gradually being undermined by this man. Day by day he took new hold on the profession of arms. He was advancing by parallels, and each week found him a little further to the front.

Then came the great battles, the supreme test, when, in a measure, rank is leveled, style is nothing, courage is everything; when "a man's a man, for a' that," and from the smoke of conflict he emerged unharmed and stood forth in bold relief, a grand soldier of the Republic, the peer of any man in the splendid regiment that never turned its back upon the foe.

No uncertainty about him now. I knew what he was good for, and to the end he had my unwavering confidence and respect. Time wore on and the term of our service came to be

counted by days. His comrades noticed that, Cincinnatus like, his mind had turned toward the farm again, and he talked cheerfully of wife, children and friends, laying plans for the future, and already treating the war as a thing of the past. Conscious of a soldierly record above reproach; happy in the prospect of enjoying a well-earned peace, he went about his daily duties contentedly humming the quaint old tunes familiar to him in the days of his boyhood.

He had served up to this time without harm, and if he had ever been absent from the regiment I do not know it. His longings for home were appreciated by the men and officers of his company, and his Captain having his safety in view obtained for him a detail in the Ambulance Corps.

We were now investing the works at Blakely, busily burrowing in the trenches, exchanging desultory shots with the enemy defending them, and with so little effect that we all became careless of results. It was on April 6, only one day before the fall of Mobile, only one day before the surrender of Lee; only one day before the close of the war. I had just returned to my tent from a trip along our lines when some one burst in and said Sergeant Harter was badly wounded. No one seemed to know just how it happened, and I lost no time in useless questioning, but under the shade of a tree, with his pale face turned toward the east, and a faraway look in his eye, I found the man of whom we had been so solicitous almost breathing his last. It seemed as if his life from the guard mount to the grave flashed through my mind with the rapidity of lightning. Kneeling by his side, taking his cold hand in mine, I spoke as best I could words of comfort and cheer. Slowly turning his face towards me the light of recognition came into his eyes, and with a smile of rare sweetness spreading over his face he softly said, "It's all right, Colonel," and, gently pressing my hand, once more turned his face away.

With one foot on the threshold of his home, just about to embrace his wife and children, he receives a stern command to about face and take service forever in another army. Still the same simple-hearted, obedient, patriotic, uncomplaining soldier, he obeyed the call without a protest. There was nothing I could do for a man like that, and with a heavy heart I left him where he lay, patiently waiting his turn to be ferried over the river to his new command.

I always think of this Sergeant, so rough upon the surface, so gentle at the core, as a typical American volunteer soldier; a law-abiding citizen, striving to do the right, as God gave him light, a lover of peace, understanding and appreciating the institutions of the country, and a sturdy defender of them when attacked.

There are hundreds and thousands of them in this country just like him, and they will rise up when the occasion requires. It is this fact that renders standing armies unnecessary and makes this Great Republic the most peaceful and most powerful of all the nations of the earth.

## A Barbarous Battle

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"Cry havoc and let slip the dogs of war."  
*Shakespeare*

Although the fall of Vicksburg placed the Mississippi River under the control of the Federal Government, it required an army of 50,000 men and a large fleet of gunboats to protect the navigation during the continuance of the war.

Troops were stationed at near intervals from Cairo to the Gulf, while gunboats constantly patrolled certain stretches of water up and down the river, like sentries on posts. Notwithstanding these precautions, an alert enemy frequently attacked passing steamers with varying success, the most serious affair of the kind being the subject of this paper.

Engaged in this service during the summer of 1864, the Division to which our regiment belonged was stationed at Morganza Bend, Louisiana, where tied to the bank, under steam night and day, lay a sufficient number of steamers to transport the entire Division to any point in the district, at a moment's notice. It was a hard, exacting service, keeping every one in a state of expectancy or performance from one month's end to the other.

I had brought with me from the nerve-racking Red River campaign what the doctor called a "walking fever," not sick enough to go to bed, and not well enough for full duty. Believing a change of climate would break it, he suggested a trip up the river and back.

On Sunday afternoon, August 7, 1864, at 3 P. M., I took passage on the steamer "Empress," bound from New Orleans to St. Louis. She was the largest boat on the river and was loaded to the guards with government freight. She also carried over 600 passengers composed of citizens (nearly 100 of whom were women and children), sick and wounded soldiers, officers on leave or changing stations.

A battalion of 200 soldiers of the Twenty-second Kentucky, composed of three companies commanded by Captains Bacon, Swigert and Grey, attended by Medical Officer Dr. W. B. Davidson, also embarked at Morganza and took quarters on the

hurricane deck. They had just re-enlisted for the duration of the war after three years' strenuous service, and were going home on veteran furlough. They were a joyous party.

After securing my state-room I looked about to get the run of the boat and make acquaintance among the passengers. General John McNeil was posted as the senior military officer on board, as required by law, and I lost no time in paying my respects to him. He had the distinction at that time of having a reward of \$10,000 offered by the Confederate Government for his capture, in retaliation for his hanging twenty rebel bushwhackers in Missouri during the early part of the war. This made him a valuable prize, so that every rebel officer in his vicinity kept a sharp lookout for him. He had just been relieved from command at Port Hudson and was on his way to other duty in Missouri.

The boats that plied the river were infested with rebel spies, male and female, who kept the Confederate commanders well posted as to the movement of steamers, value of cargoes, etc. The "Empress" had the usual experience with one of these emissaries. She came on board at Vicksburg, carrying a permit from the Provost Marshal of that post, allowing her to pass through our lines. She went ashore at Skipwith's Landing a few hours later and evidently communicated with General Marmaduke, commanding that Confederate District, notifying him of the presence of General McNeil on the "Empress."

The "Empress" was a sluggish boat, capable of carrying large cargoes of freight, yet built with a view to the pleasure and comfort of passengers who had a tedious journey ahead of them. Forward of the clerk's office the cabin deck had been extended about seventy-five feet farther than customary, and being covered by the hurricane deck, it afforded a delightful loafing place with a fine outlook up the river. It was liberally provided with easy chairs and comfortable settees, furnishing accommodations for two hundred people. The weather being warm, it was taxed to its full capacity all day and far into the night. The passengers who occupied it represented all conditions of life, military and civil, all of whom fraternized with the freedom and equality known only on shipboard. It was a continuous town meeting where all of the current questions of the day were thrashed out and finally settled to the apparent satisfaction of all concerned.

Conspicuous among this company was a preacher from New Orleans, a northern man, bubbling over with loyalty to the Union, who afterwards was a distinguished bishop of the denomination to which he belonged. He was stout and good humored, had a strong, sonorous voice that penetrated every nook and corner and which worked "over-time." He was an all-around good fellow and we liked him very much. The army officers found this deck an attractive loafing place because of the presence of the three score or more ladies, the lack of such society during the past three years making them especially appreciative of the opportunity now afforded them. Convalescents were assigned the airy places, while the children were allowed the range of the whole deck and were rapidly being spoiled by the partial passengers.

The "Empress" was on the fifth day of her journey and not a thing had occurred to frighten the travelers, or break the peace that reigned. The probability of attack seemed to have passed out of the minds of the happy company.

On Wednesday afternoon I was sitting at the front with my feet on the guard rail, enjoying a cigar, between two officers of the Twenty-first Indiana Heavy Artillery. On my left was Lieutenant Siddons, sick and emaciated, with barely enough strength to sit alone; on my right, Lieutenant Sherfey, a handsome fellow, in exuberant good health, who had been detailed to accompany his brother officer to his home.

We were rounding the bend in a narrow part of the river, when "bang" into our faces blazed a battery of artillery. Impulsively, we pushed our chairs over backwards and lay sprawling on the floor. For a moment the crowd was so dazed that they seemed frozen to their places, but a volley of musketry which quickly followed the artillery woke them to a realization of the peril they were in. At the same time there came from the levee the voices of hundreds of rebel soldiers shouting: "Surrender, surrender." Then the full horror of the situation seized us and the panic began. It was indescribable. Just then General McNeil rushed out of the front door of the cabin shouting at the top of his voice: "No surrender, no surrender. I can't afford to sell for \$10,000 today."

As I was the next ranking officer on the boat, accompanied by Sherfey, I reported to the General for orders. He directed me to take charge of the cabin deck, compel everybody to lie down and stay there. He then went above and took

charge of the hurricane deck and I did not see him again until the fight was over.

I set Sherfey to work heading off the rush on the right side of the boat and it was a joy to see the masterly manner in which he accomplished his task. With a loud voice of authority he demanded that everybody stop where he was, lie down and be still, his ready fist now and then enforcing his decree, and occasionally hurling righteous oaths against men beyond his reach, who were forgetful of the rights of the women and children. On my side, aided by two or three efficient officers, I was equally successful, and now the whole terror-stricken crowd lay silent and motionless.

A survey of the deck presented many striking effects. The women, loath to lie down, had instinctively huddled up against the guard rail in a sitting position, in a manner lapping over each other and, except for the shudder that ran through them as each cannon was discharged, were the coolest and most collected mortals on the deck.

The men, obeying our orders to the letter, were lying on the deck, face downward, in many places two deep. The quick eye of Sherfey caught sight of the preacher, flat on his ample stomach, his legs sprawled wide out, with another man dovetailed between them, his elbows on the floor acting as props, his expansive face resting in his two hands, and his eyes big as saucers, looking appealingly into ours. "Well, well," exclaimed Sherfey, "for once in his life the parson hasn't a word to say."

Remembering the helplessness of Siddons, I had him laid on the floor where he might not be trampled on and with a lot of Adams Express chests between him and the enemy. He acknowledged this attention with a grateful smile.

The working of the human mind in time of extreme danger is the most incomprehensible thing in the world, for I remember that when the panic was at the highest and the prospect of instant death seemed the greatest, I admired the beautiful fit of Sherfey's uniform and wondered where he got it.

In the meantime the battle between the enemy on shore and the soldiers on the hurricane deck was raging furiously. I knew by the crack of the rifles and voices of the officers that the Kentuckians were putting up the fight of their lives and that surrender was the last thing in their minds. They were keeping our assailants close under cover of the levee, thus lessening the effectiveness of their fire and encourag-

ing the rest of us very much. But when, notwithstanding this splendid defense, a half dozen cannon balls would plow into the cordwood in the boiler deck or crash through the framework of the cabin deck, our hearts would sink like lumps of lead, leaving us with only a glimmer of hope.

The boat was making slow but steady progress and the pilot, knowing there was a limit to the depression of artillery, kept her as close to shore and under the bank as much as possible, a wise precaution which greatly aided in our escape. She was running with one wheel, the other next to the battery having been put out of business early in the action, and was rounding the second bend with good prospects of getting away.

Having restored order at my end of the boat, I became curious to see how things were going on above; leaving Sherfey in charge I climbed the stairs to the hurricane deck, only to be horrified by the sight of the headless body of the captain of the boat, stretched out in front of the pilot house. Admonished by the bullets that whistled and sang all around me and heeding the frantic gestures of the pilot, I hurried below, much faster than I went up, fully convinced that the upper deck was no place for me.

By this time the steamer had got far enough around the bend to bring her once more in range, and present her stern to the battery, a situation the artillerymen were quick to take advantage of. For a little time the Kentucky sharpshooters prevented them from accurately sighting the guns, and as the cannon balls hurtled above us we answered with derisive shouts.

A few moments later a solid shot passing through the vessel from stern to stem cut the steam pipe connecting the boiler with the engine, and we were enveloped in a dense cloud of steam. It did not take us long to discover that the boat had stopped and was beginning to drift back past the battery, and the horror of it seemed for a little time to paralyze everybody. We were awakened from our stupor by the firing of artillery in front of us and around the bend swiftly came our preserver, the gunboat "Romeo," with Captain Baldwin in command.

The log book of the "Romeo" thus modestly tells the story of saving the lives of hundreds of people, as well as a valuable steamer and cargo:

Off Gaines Landing, 12 to 4.

Warm and clear.

3 p. m. Steamer Empress hove in sight, coming up, and when about two miles below she was opened upon by a rebel battery of ten guns. We got up anchor and went to her assistance, fired five shots at the enemy and then took the Empress in tow, she being disabled. (140 lbs. steam.)

R. P. SHAW

4 to 6 p. m., warm and clear. 5—Landed on Mississippi side and made Empress fast to the bank and stayed to guard her while she could repair her machinery. (140 lbs. steam.)

JAMES E. ERNEST

Once assured of safety the pent-up feelings of the passengers burst forth in cheers, congratulations and handshaking lasting until the boat was tied up to the bank. Looking for Siddons, I found him lying just where I had left him with the same smile on his face—but he was dead.

After the excitement had quieted somewhat, several of us, including the minister, made a tour of the boat to see what damage had been done. The gunboat men told us that they had counted 102 discharges of artillery and we found that 62 of them had struck the vessel in various places, doing great damage to the cabin, putting out of service the larboard engine and wheel and utterly destroying the barbershop and bar. The boilers had been saved partly by the huge piles of cord-wood stacked on each side of them, but principally because the cannon could not be depressed sufficiently to reach them.

The cannon balls struck near enough, however, to completely demoralize the negro stokers, who abandoned their posts and fled to the hold for safety, from which nothing could entice or drive them. A detail of the Twenty-second Kentucky was standing guard on the boiler deck and the situation was saved by Pat McAndrew, an enlisted man and a steamboat fireman before he was a soldier, who quickly organized a crew of his comrades, took charge of the boilers, continuing that duty until the boat was out of danger. By this act of heroism, Pat displayed a genius for meeting emergencies, often lacking in men of higher station and superior knowledge. But the incident passed with but little comment and Pat himself made no claims to having done anything unusual, and if living today would probably be surprised to know that I have always placed him high up on my list of heroes of the war.

The amount of broken glass and other débris scattered about the cabin can well be imagined and needs no description. A cannon ball had passed through my state room, barely grazing the valise containing all of my wordly possessions.

But of all the loss of property I think the destruction of the bar distressed me the most. That splendid plate glass mirror, before which we were wont to assemble about ten o'clock every morning to admire ourselves, was smashed to a million pieces and its massive frame now only a pile of kindling wood. Those beautiful cut glass bottles, with seductive labels, were all broken and scattered over the floor, mingling with cigars, lemons, crackers and matches which floated in the fiery liquid.

“Whiskey, whiskey everywhere,  
But not a drop to drink.”

The preacher poked his head through the broken glass door of the bar, and when he saw the prostrate form of his old enemy, John Barleycorn, whose life-blood was slowly oozing through cracks of the floor, he fervently exclaimed: “The Lord be praised.” While I—gazing sorrowfully on the sad scene, and struggling with a thirst that well-nigh choked me, why, I—could have cried.

The hurricane deck did not present as ragged an appearance as I had expected. During the action it was almost on a level with the levee and when I first realized the nature of the attack I thought the soldiers of the Twenty-second Kentucky would be swept out of existence; instead of that their location on that deck was the salvation of themselves and the rest of us. These Kentuckians were not the kind to be caught napping. Being the good soldiers they were and knowing the conditions along the river as well as they did, they had anticipated an attack from the first and were prepared for it. At the first alarm they had fallen behind cover and so rapid and fierce was their fire and so accurate their aim that the enemy behind the levee found it very difficult to get a telling range on us again.

Attached to this battalion as Medical Officer was Dr. W. B. Davidson, now an honored citizen of Madison, Indiana, who at the time of the attack was confined to his state-room by illness. He immediately dressed and hurried to his post with the men on deck, attending to his duties, under fire with the rest until the fight was over. There was much to do and there was no

other surgeon aboard. I take off my hat to the ill-requited, seldom promoted, occasionally maligned, and often forgotten surgeon of the army. I have had the urgent need of him a time or two in my life and he has been very good to me.

The casualties in this engagement were seven killed: John Malloy, Captain of the "Empress"; Lieutenant Siddons, Twenty-first Indiana Heavy Artillery, and five enlisted men and boat hands unknown to me. Thirteen were wounded: soldiers of the Twenty-second Kentucky and members of the crew, and one child in the ladies' cabin, from a splinter split off the woodwork by a cannon ball.

I take this opportunity to say a good word for another class of men who played an important part in the war, and whose services are seldom thought of in connection with it—the steamboat men. Always under the orders of the government, with no arms in their hands, continually in danger, and with no hope of military reward, nearly always under suspicion of disloyalty, sometimes holding an outspoken conviction of the justness of the southern cause, yet at all times loyal to the service in which they were engaged. The sympathies of the Captain of the "Empress" and the pilot on duty during the action leaned to the south, for they had told me so. They could have surrendered us to the enemy, but they did not. The honor of the service would not permit them to do so, their first duty always being the welfare of those intrusted in their care. So on this day Captain Malloy stood on the hurricane deck in his accustomed place before the pilot house, unafraid and alone, loyally trying to save the lives committed to his charge, only to lose his own.

It is with pleasure that I copy from the rebellion records the following appreciation by the General commanding the Department of Missouri:

Headquarters, St. Louis, Mo., Aug. 19, 1864

General Orders No. 152.

The General commanding the Department takes great pleasure in calling attention of both citizens and the army to the gallant conduct of the officers and crew of the steamer Empress during her recent trip from New Orleans to this port.

While in a narrow and difficult part of the river and within musket range of the shore, the steamer was suddenly fired upon by a heavy rebel battery, supported by a strong body of infantry.

The firing was rapid and accurate, almost every shot taking effect and the boat, filled with unarmed passengers, in a moment became a scene of frantic terror.

Passengers in their panic demanded the surrender of the steamer, but the officers coolly remained at their posts and brought her through the danger, saving by their bravery and noble sense of duty incalculable suffering to those on board and the valuable steamer and cargo to the Government.

Captain John Malloy was shot dead at his post and while the General commanding deeply sympathizes with the family and friends of the deceased he holds the noble example of unflinching resolve in the performance of duty as one worthy of the emulation of all.

The first and second mates, Hugh Davis and David Davis; the pilots, Thomas Gosler and Enoch King; the engineers and assistants, George Bruce, Andrew Pendleton, Judd Weber and William Tennant, and the first and second clerks, John C. McFall and Wm. B. Bradley, are worthy of special praise.

Following the example of their gallant Captain and regardless of the terror and confusion around them they remained true to their duty and bore themselves with such bravery as would do no discredit to the veterans of the Naval Service.

By command of Major General Rosencrans.

O. D. GREEN,  
Asst. Adjt. Gen. and Chief of Staff

This order is none too complimentary and is a fair statement of fact, except that the demand for surrender came from the enemy on shore and not from the passengers on the boat. Our interests lay the other way.

The man to whom we felt the most indebted and upon whom we showered our grateful thanks was Captain Baldwin, commanding the gunboat "Romeo," who while modestly accepting them seemed very much embarrassed by his sudden rise to distinction. Evidently he had not been used to "bouquets." Being an eye-witness to the promptness with which he came to our rescue, the masterly manner in which he handled his boat under fire of the enemy, grappling the "Empress" at the critical time and rapidly towing her around the bend to safety, I was surprised and grieved to read in the rebellion records the following *inappreciation* of him, written by his immediate superior officer, Lieutenant Commander E. K. Owen, commanding the 6th District, to Captain A. M. Pennock, Fleet Captain and Commandant of Station, Mound City, Illinois:

U. S. S. Louisville, Choctaw Bend, Aug. 14, 1864

Sir: On the eleventh instant a battery of ten pieces of artillery opened on steamer Empress as she was passing Gaines Landing; six

men were killed and several wounded. The Romeo, Captain Baldwin, was near enough to save the Empress from falling into the hands of the rebels.

Enclosed find the report of Acting Master Baldwin of the Romeo.

The Romeo undoubtedly saved the Empress, yet the fears entertained by Captain Baldwin had the Empress fallen into the hands of the enemy, are not entertained by me.

I must again mention that I am of the opinion a more competent person ought to be placed in command of the Romeo. Captain Baldwin is entirely too old and too unused to naval life to render him an efficient commander of an active vessel.

Perhaps Baldwin was an old fogy and I suspect he was a "volunteer," but I doubt whether any one act of any other naval officer on the Mississippi saved as many lives and as much valuable property as that of "Old Man" Baldwin.

After viewing the damage to the boat, so convinced was the preacher that our escape was something miraculous, so firm was his conviction that a mightier power than the Twenty-second Kentucky or the Captain of the "Romeo" had saved us, that he announced that a "praise meeting" would be held in the cabin at early candle light. It was a great success, the cabin being crowded to its full capacity. The parson was on familiar ground once more, and had found his voice. He took command by right of his "cloth" and we, as obedient volunteers, sang the hymns he gave out to us, with a fervor that fairly raised the roof.

The next day while the repairs were being made we buried our dead in the lonely woods skirting the banks of the Mississippi and a little later proceeded on our way up the river attended by the "Romeo."

This affair of the "Empress" left a bad taste in my mouth. It was not war. It was slaughter. I never bore grudge against the enemy who, gun in hand and acting under the recognized rules of war, sought to take my life—disarmed, I could love him as a brother—but I never could become reconciled to the murderous bushwhacker who turned his guns on the non-combatants, women, and children of the "Empress." He never got his deserts, for after peace had spread over the land he was elected Governor of Missouri and died in his bed.

General John McNeil managed to keep his head on his shoulders during the rest of the war and for many years enjoyed a sinecure as postmaster of St. Louis.

I got off the "Empress" at Cairo, and until I met Dr. Davidson last August (1912), I had never laid eyes on a fellow passenger of that boat. A brief comparison of war service soon developed the fact that we had passed through the "fiery furnace" together, and it ended by my agreeing to put the story on paper.

## The Vanishing "Vet"

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The Civil War Veteran is in a class by himself; there were none quite like him before that war, and none just like him since.

At the call of war he dropped everything he was doing and hurried to the camp; he did not know where he was going, nor what he was to do, he only knew there was a fire somewhere and he was going into the bucket line to help to put it out.

He did not know whether any one was going to pay him or not, neither did he care; the whole "bloomin'" thing was a lottery to him, not knowing whether he was going to draw a blank or a prize, and whether he was to command or be commanded, gave him no concern; his single ambition being to do his level best in whatever position he was placed.

There were of him a total of 2,778,309. "It is hard to conceive, but it is virtually true, that the war of the rebellion was actually fought by boys. Of the above total more than 2,000,000 at the time of their enlistment were under 21 years of age.

25 boys were only ten years of age.

225 were twelve years of age.

1,523 were fourteen years of age.

844,891 were sixteen years of age.

1,151,848 were eighteen years of age.

2,150,708 is the exact number under twenty-one at enlistment.

Only 618,511 were over twenty-one when they took up arms."

There is no other such record in the world. One day at Gettysburg 30,000 of them held their line in an open field all day long, and when the sun went down 10,000 dead and wounded lay behind the lines, while their victorious comrades camped on the field of battle. The story of Gettysburg is the story of the war.

Recently it has been a common thing to hear that the Civil War was a small affair as compared with later wars, but the truth is coming out.

"During the World War the United States put under arms about 4,000,000 men, one-half of whom served abroad, and up to date (January 21, 1919) the dead, killed in action, died of wounds and disease totals 63,796."

Against this stands the death roll of the Union Army alone, 359,528, not including the number discharged for wounds or disease who died at home. The historians of the Civil War estimate the death roll of the north to be 500,000.

In the north 45 per cent of the military population were in the army, and from the standpoint of manpower alone the military effort of the nation in the Civil War was, in proportion to population, more than four times as great as it was in the World War. The Civil War still remains the great military effort of the United States.

The boy of "'61" was a very different individual when he turned his face homeward at the close of the war in "'65." The hardships and discipline of war had sobered and steadied him; the constant presence of danger had made him a thoughtful, courageous, self-reliant man. He was fully aware and justly proud of the sacrifices he had made for the country, but he never sought to commercialize them. All he asked was a man's chance in a peaceful country. To make sure of this and to "cinch" the victory he had won, he organized the Grand Army of the Republic, which is thus described by a recent writer:

Unique, distinct, exclusive, cloaked in its own individuality, recognized leader of the most practical object lesson in patriotic consecration, giant among other organizations in swaying the minds of legislators, it became in its first quarter of a century the impelling force in our country's onward march to the highest goal of material national achievement and is still, in its fifty-sixth year, a forceful factor in American civics.

Of this great organization only the "rear guard" is left, but it is falling back slowly, with arms in its hands, vigilantly watching every point of attack, and firing at every hostile head.

The Civil War Soldier is vanishing like a dream, but in the minds of men his outstanding figure will ever remain that of the greatest "volunteer" soldier in the world.

## “Our Friends—The Enemy”

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Noticing this caption in a newspaper recently it occurred to me that after all there was nothing incongruous about it, if applied to many experiences of those who have had a part in war.

Although the Civil War was one of the longest and bloodiest of record, it is a remarkable fact that when the combatants met on neutral ground unarmed, during flags of truce, or a surrender as prisoners of war, they never exhibited any personal hatred, malice, or rancor towards one another, but on the contrary showed unusual disposition to be friends. No participant on either side has been able to explain it, but all know it to be true, and the instances recited here which came under my personal observation, are only a few examples of thousands that have occurred.

### RICHMOND, KENTUCKY

During the progress of this battle, in a movement of our regiment from the right to the left flank, across open ground, in front of the enemy's line of battle, the writer of this article rode at the head of his regiment wearing a white panama hat, innocently oblivious of the interest it had awakened on the part of the enemy.

The battle resulted in the defeat and capture of our army. With two others of our officers as prisoners we were assigned to the guardianship of a young officer of a Tennessee regiment. Approaching to take charge of us, suddenly increasing his pace towards me he grasped my hand, and, shook it, heartily exclaiming, “I was never so glad to see anyone alive in my life.” Upon my expressing surprise, he said, “Why, you were the man who rode down our front wearing the white hat with scores of our men shooting at you, until the Colonel sent orders down the line to cease firing at you.”

Then this friend, my enemy, set about to see what he could do for us. First, after considerable trouble he found a confederate surgeon who dressed the wound in my leg. Next he presented me with a mule to ride because of my lameness. During the day as we marched in the wake of the victorious

army, he kept our canteens well filled with fresh water and diligently scoured the adjacent country for something palatable to eat, and when he turned us over to the general prison camps at ten o'clock that night, we felt as if we had lost a life-long friend.

That night as I lay on the bare ground, looking at the stars and unable to sleep, my mind kept up a refrain that had been running through my head all day, "Who is my friend and who is my enemy? Why did that colonel spare my life, when it was his business to kill me, and why had that lieutenant devoted himself to us all day at such personal sacrifice?" The night was not long enough for me to solve the problem.

### BLACK RIVER BRIDGE

In the Vicksburg campaign our regiment had the honor to be selected as one of five picked regiments to make the assault on the works at Black River Bridge, which were then the only obstacle to our investment of Vicksburg, and which resulted in the capture of several thousand prisoners and twenty pieces of artillery. While the assault was on, it seemed as if we were breasting a hailstorm of bullets, but we were no sooner over the works and down inside than we were greeted by the friendly smiles of hundreds of confederate soldiers who had thrown down their arms, and in about ten minutes the souvenir and jack-knife trade was in full blast, without a hostile note to disturb it.

While looking about me at this reunion of "the blue and the gray," the Sergeant Major brought to me a young confederate soldier with a face like a cherub who with the innocent assurance of youth said he had a favor to ask of me. He said he had been a prisoner once before at Camp Morton, Indianapolis, and compared with soldiering in the field, it was heaven; so would I be kind enough to use my influence to have him and his comrades sent to Camp Morton. His simple faith in me struck a responsive chord in my heart and I prepared for him an appeal "to whom it may concern" that would melt a heart of ice, which I hope did him some good.

### JACKSON, MISSISSIPPI

Following the surrender of Vicksburg, we faced about and laid siege to Jackson, which was defended by General Joe

Johnson whose military ability was held in high esteem by us. We "dug in" our lines so close to the enemy that occasionally we could hear their voices. The confederate regiment in front had a remarkably fine band which every evening after sundown would play for an hour an exceptionally good program, each number of which was heartily applauded by our "boys," the band frequently acknowledging by repetition of a few strains. Thus a sort of comradeship grew with "our friends—the enemy."

One day one of our Brigade Commanders in an abortive attempt to win a little glory for himself and without the knowledge or consent of the Commanding General, assaulted the works in his immediate front and was repulsed with heavy loss. A two-hour truce was arranged to bury the dead. It was no sooner put into effect than the men of both sides poured out of their lines, filling the intervening space and making acquaintance.

The first thing "our boys" did was to locate "their friends—the enemy" of their immediate front which they discovered to be a South Carolina regiment, the possessor of that splendid band. For two hours that band-master was their idol, and before parting he told them he would play a program that night they would never forget.

At the customary time they began playing a choice program of familiar airs, winding up with "Dixie," which was applauded to the skies. The happy company while breaking up was buzzing with pleasure, when to the surprise of all the band began playing again and the boys could scarcely believe their ears, but there was no mistake, for they were playing impressively the "Star Spangled Banner." A strange, unaccountable hush fell on the audience as they listened with something akin to awe. At the termination of the applause one comrade seemed to voice the feelings of all, when he said, "I hope I will never have to fight those boys again."

#### SELMA, ALABAMA

Following the capture of the works defending Mobile on April 9, 1865, I was sent to the general hospital at New Orleans for treatment of a serious wound in the head, and the Sixty-ninth regiment was ordered to Selma, Alabama, where it camped on the outskirts of the city in just the right position

to receive the hundreds of paroled confederate soldiers who came straggling in on their way to Mobile.

Returning to the regiment a few days later, I found the camp full of them; the quartermaster was feeding them with the rations of Uncle Sam and sending them forward on their way rejoicing, while "our boys" were cheerfully vacating their own quarters for the lame and sick, all of which I heartily approved.

That first evening when I went out to take my place at dress parade, I noticed what seemed to be about one hundred fifty confederate soldiers who had taken a position about fifty yards behind me, but I gave it no thought. At the conclusion of the manual of arms I was surprised by the great outburst of applause from "our friends—the enemy," and not to be outdone, I faced about and gave them the sword salute, which they promptly returned with the hand. As a courtesy to them I repeated the manual of arms, much to their delight, never dreaming that these gestures of good will would bear fruit in an unexpected and gratifying way. But a few days later we were ordered to Mobile where we camped in a residential district, to the great alarm of the citizens, but we had no sooner established camp than it was flooded by "our friends—the enemy" whom we had succored at Selma, and our reputation as good citizens was established in Mobile beyond all dispute.

About the close of the month of June there was published in the daily press an order transferring our Division to the Rio Grande where Sheridan was organizing an army "to drive the French out of Mexico." In a short time the confederate soldiers began arriving in our camp offering to enlist in the Sixty-ninth and help "drive the French out of Mexico." At first, I paid but little attention to it, thinking it but a good will offering, but as the day wore on and the numbers increased, I took a serious view of it. Why not let them help "drive the French out of Mexico?"

I went uptown to Division headquarters and laid the matter before the General, telling him that I believed I could sign up enough well-seasoned soldiers to fill out the maximum number—1,040 men. I found the General interested and kindly responsive, but after a little thought he said, "I am sorry, but I just cannot permit it. Why, what do you think those fellows up in Washington would do to me if I should allow you to fill

up your ranks with paroled ‘rebel’ soldiers? You never could make them understand it in the world.” I could see that he was right from his point of view, but I did not have the heart to tell “our friends—the enemy” of his decision, and it was well that I did not, for immediately after came orders for our muster-out by reason of expiration of service, and they never knew that they had been turned down.

#### THE ORPHAN OF OLD MOBILE

After getting settled in our camp at Dauphin Street, Mobile, there “blew in” to our quarters a sturdy little newsboy, apparently five or six years of age, with an overload of papers in his arms and a blacking kit strung over his shoulders, who lost no time in getting down to business. It did not take him long to dispose of his papers, and then with rare initiative he took advantage of a low stump for a seat and a chunk of wood for a foot rest where he did a thriving business in blacking shoes throughout the day that was to be the turning point in his life.

Pleased with his cheery ways the “boys” crowded round him patiently waiting their turns, whiling away the time by “guying” the little fellow for the sake of his ready wit in which they got the worst of it and which pleased them all the more. If he ever had any troubles, he showed no disposition to unload them on anyone else, but as the day wore on and a better acquaintance was established, the “boys” drew from him this story.

His name was John Henry Newman, he was five years of age, his father, a confederate soldier, had been killed in battle, his mother had died in a hospital. Self-reliant and undaunted he had sought to earn his living on the streets of Mobile. He was boarding where he could afford a bite to eat, and lodging in the store boxes that then lined the streets.

His good nature, self-reliance, and optimism captivated all who came in contact with him, while the sunshine that radiated from his grime-smeared face so melted the hearts of the “boys” who listened to him, that one apparently conscience-stricken comrade exclaimed, “My God, boys, maybe some one of us killed his father.” By night the whole camp had surrendered and “a little child was leading them.” Without ever asking his consent they named him “The Son of the Regiment,” a title he has borne with honor to this day.

One day there was a great stir in camp. Our term of service had expired, and we were to be sent home and mustered out. John Henry was much bewildered by these expressions of joy and asked the "boys" what it was all about. Then they told him "we are going back to God's country." He did not know where that was, but it was enough for him to know that they did. They took him with them to Indiana, where one of them placed him with a good man, who reared and educated him, but for twenty years I lost sight of him.

Then he appeared without previous announcement at one of our regimental reunions, the same John Henry, grown to handsome manhood and still radiating sunshine. When the "boys" had recovered from their surprise, they gave him an ovation that would have been the envy of a king. In words full of pathos he told of his yearnings for them, and of the joy it gave him to meet them once more face to face and thank them for having been a father to him.

Once more he told us the details of his life, his schooling, his farm life, his gradual rise in the world until he was now the superintendent of schools at Fletcher, Ohio. He had married the daughter of a Union soldier and had a little boy at home.

Since then he has been a commissioner of prisons in Ohio, has served a number of terms as state librarian of Ohio, and at this time is one of the most popular speakers on the lecture platform, whose managers advertise him as one who "makes smiles and sunshine to order"—"The Son of the Regiment, newsboy, farm hand, reporter, editor, librarian, writer, statesman, educator, and lecturer on building of character and kindred subjects."

He has been fortunate in having for friends such men in Ohio as Governors Harmon and Cox, President Warren G. Harding, Chief Justice Nichols, Frank Miller, superintendent of public instruction, and Wayne Wheeler, of Anti-Saloon League fame.

Ever since his first appearance at our reunions, his absences have been only those which he could not control, and the sons, daughters, and grandchildren of "our boys" love him as one of their own kin.

His story has a tinge of romance but it is as true as gospel, and what we did for the orphaned son of one of "our friends—

the enemy" has redounded to the credit of all concerned and the glory of the great country in which we live.

War is horrible, but after all, has its compensations, for it gave for our common heritage the memory of two of its greatest participants, Grant and Lee. Grant said, "Let us have peace" and Lee responded "Amen" and to his dying day the latter set an example that was the guidance of his soldiers and their descendants to this day.

McKinley, too, was a soldier, and was animated by this fellow feeling of which I have been writing, when he gave Jo Wheeler and Fitzhugh Lee the opportunity once more to wear the blue. Since then many other noble sons of "our friends—the enemy" have risen to high rank in the Army of Uncle Sam.

In closing, I offer this toast, here's to

OUR FRIENDS—THE ENEMY

We fought them and we killed them  
And they killed us in return,  
But we never thought to hate them  
And never cared to learn.

# Biographical Sketch

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By Colonel A. B. Crampton  
Former Governor  
National Soldiers' Home, Marion, Indiana

Oran Perry, son of James and Elizabeth Perry, was born at Liberty, Union County, Indiana, February 1, 1838. His parents moved to Richmond in 1844 where he resided until 1874. From eight to sixteen years of age he attended the private Quaker schools of Barnabas Hobbs, William Haughton, and Milton Hollingsworth, finishing in the public high school under the superintendence of Professor Josiah Hurty, a noted educator in his day, following which he took a course of book-keeping and commercial law at Bacon's Commercial College at Cincinnati.

From 1858 until the breaking out of the war in 1861 he was in the employ of the auction firm of William T. Dennis & Co. as cashier, at a time when all state currency was at a discount, and the cashier had to keep up with the most rapid auction salesman in the west and had to know all of the depreciated currency by heart.

Part of the time in 1859 and 1860, as business would permit, he served with an independent military company, the Richmond Greys, at the same time making an exhaustive study of the Manual of the Virginia State Military Institute, which then was the standard for military companies, without having a thought that it would ever be of any practical use to him.

Upon the outbreak of the Civil War in 1861, he enlisted on April 19, 1861, in Company B, Sixteenth Indiana, under Captain John S. Lee, who made use of his knowledge of military matters by appointing him drill master of the company. Coincident with the organization of the Sixteenth Indiana for one year's service, he was appointed by Colonel Hackleman to be Sergeant Major of the regiment, serving as such until mustered out of service at Washington City, May 14, 1862.

In after years he sometimes speculated about how it came to pass that promotions had always come to him unsolicited; the mystery never was solved until 1904, when, appointed

Adjutant General of the State of Indiana, he found among the archives a flattering recommendation for his promotion signed by Colonel Hackleman and all of the officers of the Sixteenth Indiana, shortly before it mustered out, and which evidently formed the basis of action for the Governor in times to follow.

The Sixteenth regiment served its term of enlistment in the Army of the Potomac, in the brigade of General J. T. Abercrombie, and the Division of General N. P. Banks. The real war having not yet begun, the time was spent in guarding the fords of the upper Potomac and in company and battalion drill, during which time the Sixteenth won profuse encomiums from the general officers for its proficiency in drill.

Shortly after he was mustered out of the Sixteenth, Perry was summoned to Indianapolis by the Governor, who told him a new regiment, the Sixty-ninth, was to rendezvous at Richmond, that he had appointed him Adjutant and because of his experience he wanted him to go there to organize it, his commission to date from July 18, 1862. The burden of organization, drill, and discipline fell entirely on the Adjutant, very few others in the regiment having seen service at all. The Colonel, Lieutenant Colonel, and Major had never done a day's duty; their appointments evidently were political.

The regiment was mustered into the United States' service August 19, 1862, and two days after was ordered to Kentucky, via Indianapolis, to assist in repelling the invasion of the Confederate Army under General Kirby Smith, the Colonel remaining at home. On arrival at Louisville the Adjutant reported the lack of a commanding officer to General Reynolds, in command of that District, who assigned the Lieutenant Colonel of an Ohio regiment to the command.

Meeting the enemy near Richmond, Kentucky, early on the morning of August 30, 1862, the regiment was ordered into line of the battle to await further orders. Immediately after taking position the Ohio Colonel informed the Adjutant that he was not satisfied with the location assigned, and was going to see General Manson about it. He was not seen again until two days after the battle.

In the meantime orders came for the Sixty-ninth to move from the right to the extreme left across open ground, under fire of the enemy's line of battle. The Adjutant reported the situation to Lieutenant Colonel Stout, who, recognizing his own helplessness, directed the Adjutant to assume command,

which he did, carrying out the instructions of the order to the letter. The result may be best described by an eye-witness, a reporter of a Cincinnati paper, which under the headlines, "What Raw Troops Did," gave this report:

The 69th Indiana, a perfectly new regiment, just from the harvest fields of Indiana, was ordered as a support. The regiment on the left was staggering under a terrific fire from superior numbers and the 69th was obliged to move across an open field which was raked by artillery.

They dashed across the field unfalteringly, men falling at every step, but the noble fellows closed up with the steadiness of veterans. Their conduct is described as magnificent, and was all the more praiseworthy since the brave fellows were scarce three weeks from the corn-fields and threshing floors of Indiana. Their devotion saved the Army at this moment. Had they faltered an instant their comrades in front would have broken.

The casualties of the Sixty-ninth were twenty per cent of its 1,000 men. Among the wounded were Lieutenant Colonel Stout, Major Watterhouse, and Adjutant Perry, whose horse was killed. The rest were made prisoners of war, and after being paroled were ordered to rendezvous at Camp Wayne. Immediately after the assembling there, Colonel Bickle resigned, whereupon Lieutenant Colonel Stout carried a petition to Governor Morton signed by himself and all of the officers requesting the appointment of Adjutant Perry to the Colonelcy of the regiment. In reply the Governor said he had already promoted to the position Major Bennett of the Thirty-sixth Indiana, who was on his way to take command, but in the future he would appoint Perry to the first vacancy among the field officers. He kept his word, for when Lieutenant Colonel Stout resigned, Perry was promoted to the rank of Lieutenant Colonel, his commission being dated March 13, 1863.

Under the capable command of Colonel Bennett the regiment left Richmond November 27, 1863, for Memphis, where it joined General Sherman's expedition up the Yazoo River, seeking a position in the rear of Vicksburg, which resulted in defeat. Following this attempt the Sixty-ninth was engaged under Sherman in the capture of Arkansas Post, a confederate stronghold a few miles west of the Mississippi River and on the Arkansas River. The Division to which it belonged joined Grant's Army opposite Vicksburg, afterward participating in the battles of Grand Gulf, Post Gibson, Champion's Hill, Black River Bridge, the assaults on the works at Vicksburg on May

19 and 22, 1863, and the siege which compelled the surrender on July 4.

On May 23, Colonel Bennett was invalidated home as unfit for field service, but for nearly two years was employed on courts and commissions, during which time the regiment was under command of Lieutenant Colonel Perry.

Following the siege of Vicksburg the Sixty-ninth had a prominent part in the siege and capture of Jackson, Mississippi. Returning to Vicksburg it was transferred with the Thirteenth Corps to New Orleans and attached to the Army of the Gulf. With Lawler's Division it participated in General Franklin's attempt to march his army to Texas via the Teche country, but finding the route impractical the army in November returned to New Orleans, where Lawler's Division embarked on steamships for the Rio Grande, the purpose being the capture of all of the posts and forts along the coast of the Gulf in support of General Banks' invasion of Texas, via Red River, the Division finally settling down at DeCrow's Point, Matagorda Island, December 1, 1863.

It was while the Sixty-ninth was at this place that Colonel Perry received a letter from his boyhood friend, "Bill" Holloway, who was Executive Secretary to Governor Morton, saying that several new regiments were to be organized and that the Governor had in mind the promotion of Perry to the Colonelcy of the One Hundred Twenty-fourth Regiment to be organized at Richmond. Gratefully acknowledging the compliment implied, the Colonel replied that for nearly a year, as Lieutenant Colonel, he had been in command of a first class regiment with an enviable record behind it, that the matter of title meant very little to him, and that he would much prefer to remain with the men of whom he was so fond.

On February 13, 1864, the Division moved to Indianola, on the mainland, to await the result of Bank's invasion of Texas via Red River. While at this point Colonel Perry was given command of an expedition composed of the Sixty-ninth Regiment, artillery and cavalry, which brought in over 2,000 head of cattle for the use of the Army, and the news of the discovery of a very large warehouse filled with dry hides which required the service of many teams for several days to haul to the docks and which the General said would pay all of the expenses of the Division for the winter.

On March 15, 1864, word was received of the defeat of

Banks up Red River, and the Division was ordered to take ship for New Orleans, and by steamers to Alexandria, Louisiana, where Banks' army was besieged by General Dick Taylor's Confederate Army. Arriving there on the morning of April 27, Lawler's Division of three brigades immediately gave battle to the enemy, defeating and driving him twelve miles into the country, leaving him a thing no longer to be feared. Banks' army and the gunboats of the Navy were rescued and conducted back to the Mississippi River at Morganza Bend, the rear being protected during the three days' movement by Lucas' Cavalry Brigade, supported day and night by the Sixty-ninth Indiana. Lawler's Division established quarters at Morganza Bend for the summer to assist in keeping the river open for traffic, a hard, grueling service in which the Sixty-ninth did its full share.

Colonel Perry had brought with him from his trip up Red River what the surgeon called a "walking fever," not well enough for full duty, not sick enough to go to bed, and was advised to take a twenty day trip to the north to break it. Embarking August 7, 1864, on the steamer "Empress," the largest boat on the river, on its way from New Orleans to St. Louis, loaded heavily with freight and carrying over 600 passengers, including a battalion of four companies of the Twenty-second Kentucky quartered on the hurricane deck, he experienced en route the most thrilling episode of his life.

On the fifth day of the trip, while entering Tunica Bend, the boat ran "head on" into an ambush of artillery and infantry, opening a tremendous fire and shouting, "Surrender, Surrender!" On board was General McNeil of Missouri, for whose capture the confederate authorities had offered a reward of \$10,000. The General assumed active command, taking charge of the troops on the hurricane deck, at the same time directing Colonel Perry to assume command of the cabin deck, where with the help of three young officers, he compelled the panic-stricken passengers to lie down and keep still.

The Kentuckians put up a wonderful fight from the hurricane deck, while the boat officers, remaining loyal at their posts, gradually worked the boat around the bend into comparative safety until a cannon ball disabled the engines, and the steamer began to float back in front of the enemy. Just then the gunboat "Romeo" hove in sight from the north part of the bend, hooked on, and towed the boat to safety.

Many were killed and wounded, the captain of the steamer being among the dead, his head being shot off by a cannon ball while he was standing fearlessly in his accustomed place on the open hurricane deck. This incident created a tremendous sensation throughout the country, but it resulted in the government making short work of the bushwhackers along the river, and it also cured the Colonel's "walking fever."

On December 7, 1864, the Sixty-ninth regiment was ordered via New Orleans to Dauphin Island, Mobile Bay, reporting to General Gordon Granger, commanding the District. When Colonel Perry sent his roster of officers to the General, he was notified that he was the ranking officer on the island and directed to assume command of the 4,200 troops present, and to inspect, review, and outfit them for a demonstration by land on Mobile from the south. The work was accomplished in two weeks, and to show his appreciation the General assigned Colonel Perry to the command of a brigade of five regiments and a battery of artillery, with orders to cross to the mainland that day, which was obeyed.

The next day as the brigade was about to march inland, a Colonel of one of the regiments who had been on leave appeared, and, outranking Colonel Perry, assumed command. Immediately afterward General Granger issued an order detaching the Sixty-ninth from the brigade, and giving Colonel Perry an independent command composed of his own regiment and two companies of Illinois Cavalry to proceed on a scout towards Mobile by a different route from the main body.

He approached within eighteen miles of Mobile, making a map of the route, capturing some prisoners, and gathering information that caused the General to abandon the route as impracticable. In the withdrawal the Sixty-ninth was the last to arrive at Pascagoula about 6 o'clock Christmas morning, having marched all night in ankle deep mud. About midnight of the march the regiment was met by a six-horse army team, the wagon containing nothing but a barrel of whiskey, which the staff officers said was sent by the good General with his compliments.

On January 31, 1865, the Sixty-ninth sailed from Pascagoula to Barrancas, Florida, a few days later marching to Pensacola, where it joined the army under General Fred Steele for an expedition which carried that force north through Florida and west through Alabama, and arriving in front of Fort Blakeley,

defending Mobile, on April 1. The works at that point were carried by assault on the afternoon of April 9, the day of Lee's surrender. This was the last pitched battle of the war.

Following this battle, on recommendation of his Division Commander, the President named Lieutenant Colonel Perry a Colonel of United States Volunteers, by Brevet, taking effect March 26, 1865, "For the resolute and courageous manner in which he led his battalion in the charge at Fort Blakeley, Ala., April 9, 1865, during which he was seriously wounded, for his zeal as an officer and for having a splendid and efficient battalion."

He was sent to the hospital for officers at New Orleans where he remained about two weeks, when, believing he would recover sooner under the treatment of his own surgeon, he left the hospital without discharge and joined his regiment at Selma, Alabama. Passing through Mobile on his way to Selma, he paid his respects to General Canby, commanding the Military Division of the West Mississippi, and during the conversation the General said it would give him much pleasure to recommend him for an officer's commission in the regular army. With sincere thanks Colonel Perry declined the proposal of the General, saying that he was heartily sick of war, that he felt he could not make the killing of human beings a profession for life, and that it was the desire of his heart to quit roaming and settle down at some more congenial occupation.

Shortly after his arrival at Selma the regiment was ordered to Mobile, establishing its camp in the heart of a residential district, creating much alarm among the residents, but both officers and men conducted themselves in such a manner as to allay all hostility against them and to win encomiums from the editor of the *Mobile Register* (Confederate) who praised the high state of discipline of the regiment, saying that the men were implicitly obeying the orders of their commanding officer not to set foot on private property, and that their personal conduct had been such as to win the respect and friendship of the neighboring citizens, as was evidenced by the hundreds who turned out daily to witness and applaud their dress parade.

It was while at this camp that Colonel Perry received his commission as Colonel from Governor Morton, dated April 13,

1865, Colonel Bennett having resigned his commission a short time before.

The expiration of the term of service of the Sixty-ninth being due on August 19, it was ordered home, leaving Mobile July 5, 1865, via New Orleans, and arriving at Indianapolis July 17, where it was received and thanked by Governor Morton in the yard of the State House on July 18, and disbanded the following day, having received a month's extra pay.

At the close of the reception Governor Morton requested Colonel Perry to call on him at his office at 10 o'clock next morning for a conference, the purport of which perhaps may best be told in the Colonel's own words.

Promptly at ten o'clock I presented myself at the office of the Governor, by whom I was received in an especially friendly manner. After a few preliminary remarks, he turned directly to the subject on his mind. He said, "Now that the war is over, I suppose you know that machinery must be provided for the government of the conquered states to put them in harmonious working order with the rest of the Union, governors must be temporarily installed, state officers selected, judges and county officers appointed. Have you any suggestions to make along these lines?"

Never in my life was I so taken aback; for a time I sat tongue-tied while the Governor complacently eyed me. Upon recovering myself, I replied, "Governor, I am still wearing my war clothes. I have never given the matter a moment's thought, I have cast but one ballot in my life; this is a question of politics, of which I absolutely know nothing."

Still pursuing his quest, in a very kindly manner he said, "Yes, I know, but surely you must have had some impressions. Think a moment and tell me whom you think should have right of suffrage in those states, the white people who were our enemies or the black people who were our friends?" To which I guardedly replied, "The white people have property interests to conserve, while the blacks are impossible on account of their dense ignorance."

Continuing in his persistent drawing out, he said, "Now tell me, if you had the power, whom would you select to carry on these provisional state governments?" to which I unhesitatingly replied, "The officers and soldiers of the Confederate Army." Apparently this did not shock him in the least, for in his usual mild voice he said, "Do you mean to tell me, that after fighting these men for four years and conquering them, you would place all the fruit of victory in their hands to manage?" To which I replied, "I certainly would."

Then I went on to say, "Governor, at Mobile I have just spent two months in mingling and fraternizing with hundreds of confederate officers and soldiers, who joined with us in expressing their joy on the return of peace, the majority of whom never were secessionists at heart, an extremely small minority of whom had any interest in slavery.

All spoke of their desire to return to the ways of peace. Not one of them showed the slightest hostility to the Union soldiers by whom they were surrounded."

The Governor then said, "But how would you use them?" To which I replied, "While mingling with them I was struck by their expressions of loyalty to their officers, many of whom they idolized, such men as Lee, Longstreet, Jo Johnson, Gordon, and many others. Each state in the south has a number of such men. I would appoint one of these Governor, all of the offices of the state I would fill with confederate soldiers, all of whom, tired of war, craving peace, and anxious to hold their jobs, would see to it that there was peace in Dixie."

While I was talking, the Governor was leaning forward listening intently, and when I finished, he leaned back in his chair and for a few moments seemed in deep thought; finally arousing himself, and speaking each word very slowly he said, "And you tell me you know nothing of politics."

I was at a loss to know just what kind of an impression I had made on him, but when I rose to go, he accompanied me to the door and parted with me in a most affectionate manner. A few years after I had the honor for a few consecutive nights to sit by his death bed, and when his great soul left his weary, war-worn body, I felt I had lost my best friend.

In support of the Colonel's contention of that early period it is interesting at this time to recall that the distinguished generals named by him were supporters of the national government from the surrender to the days of their death.

Going to his home at Richmond after the disbandment of his regiment, for several months the Colonel took a well earned rest while his wound was healing, at the same time assisting many of his comrades to positions in business.

On May 17, 1866, he was married to Miss Jennie Poe, daughter of James and Matilda Poe, with whom he has lived happily for sixty-two years.

In 1866 the Grand Army of the Republic was organized at Indianapolis and for the first two years he was Commander of the Post at Richmond. About the same time he joined the Masons and Odd Fellows, in which he was much interested as long as he lived in Richmond.

Engaging in the manufacture of agricultural implements with two others in 1867 with flattering prospects of success, he was obliged to suspend in 1873 owing to the panicky state of business throughout the country. Beginning business life anew he secured a position in the freight department of the Bellefontaine Railroad at Indianapolis, a year later being appointed freight agent of the Pittsburgh, Cincinnati & St. Louis

Railroad (Pennsylvania Line) where he continued until 1900. He then resigned under a tentative arrangement for consolidation of four transfer companies in one of which he was interested, which finally failed to materialize on account of the death of two of the contracting parties. While with the Pennsylvania lines he was offered and declined the general agency of one of the trunk lines running out of Chicago (Nickel Plate), preferring to remain in a more congenial social and business atmosphere.

During his railroad life he was one of the five organizers of the Commercial Club (now the Chamber of Commerce) and was its first chairman of City Affairs. He was for several years the chairman of the Freight-Agents' Association.

In 1888 he was a charter member of the Indiana Commandery of the Military Order of the Loyal Legion of which General Lew Wallace was the first commander, and was himself Commander in 1905. Colonel Perry was charter member of the Columbia Club and a member of the Marion Club through most of its existence, and at this time is Recorder and Treasurer of the Indiana Commandery of the Loyal Legion.

Ever since his residence in Indianapolis he has been a member of Thomas Post, G. A. R., and for three years past has been President of the Grand Army League, an association organized under the state law for no profit, composed of the four Grand Army Posts, the Sons of Veterans, and their women's auxiliaries, a total membership of nearly two thousand, and located at "Fort Friendly," 512 North Illinois Street, all of which has been made possible through the generosity of Dr. Sollis Runnels who leased his valuable property to the Association for ten years free of rent.

In 1902 Governor Durbin appointed Colonel Perry Quarter-Master General of the state, succeeding General R. S. Foster, deceased. In January, 1905, Governor Hanley appointed him Adjutant General, with the rank of Brigadier General, serving four years with him and one year with Governor Marshall, until he resigned and was placed on the retired list with the rank of Brigadier General.

Making an inspection of the office immediately on assuming control, he discovered there were no records of the Mexican War, and after two years of labor he produced a public document of more than six hundred pages entitled *Indiana in the Mexican War*.

During his administration there were an unusual number of labor disturbances in different sections of the state, and each time frightened citizens and weak-kneed officials, alarmed by prospect of riot, would call on the Governor to "Turn out the Guard" (the execution of which fell to the Adjutant General). Not being in sympathy with the usual practice of rattling swords and military swashbuckling to overawe the offenders, it was his custom to call to its armory a company nearest the point of disturbance to await orders, and go to the place alone and unarmed, seek the labor leader and get his point of view, instruct him in points of law of which he was ignorant, with the result in every case that the law of the state was upheld and labor unions retired with honor.

In 1918 he was appointed Superintendent of the Soldiers' and Sailors' Monument at Indianapolis, a structure which, as a work of art, has no peer in the world, and at this time is still on duty. Upon taking control he cleaned the capacious basement and installed a military picture gallery, representing all of the wars in which the country has been engaged from the Revolution to the World War, the collection now boasting a total of over 6,000 pictures.

In 1924 he published for private distribution a series of articles entitled *Recollections of the Civil War*, copies of which were mailed to numerous libraries throughout the state, the contribution being made because of his membership in the Indiana Historical Association.

On February 23, 1927, there was introduced and passed by the House of Representatives of the General Assembly, the following:

#### RESOLUTION

Whereas, It is believed that there are but two field officers now living, who commanded Indiana regiments in the Civil War; and,

Whereas, The records of these two men attached hereto show them both to have been wonderful soldiers; and,

Whereas, It would seem that these veterans of the Civil War should be remembered at this time; now, therefore, be it

Resolved, That the record of these soldiers, Colonel Oran Perry of Indianapolis, Indiana, and Lieutenant-Colonel James S. Wright of Rockport, Spencer County, Indiana, be read before this legislature here assembled; and, be it further

Resolved, That this legislature express to these officers the sincere appreciation of the citizens of the State of Indiana for their valuable services in behalf of their country; and be it further

Resolved, That a copy of this resolution, together with their official record attached hereto, be forwarded to these officers at the earliest opportunity by the chief clerk of this House of Representatives.

O. J. Wedeking,  
*Representative*  
W. T. Lytle,  
*Chief Clerk*

H. W. DeHaven,  
*Representative*  
Harry G. Leslie,  
*Speaker of the House*

#### COLONEL ORAN PERRY

Born at Liberty, Indiana, February 1, 1838.

Military record—Private Richmond Grays, 1859-1861.

Private "Company B," 16th Indiana, April 19, 1861.

Sergt. major May 23, 1861—Mustered out May 14, 1862.

Capt. adjutant, 69th Indiana, July 18, 1862.

Lieutenant colonel, March 13, 1863.

Brevet colonel, U. S. Vols., March 26, 1865, "For the resolute and courageous manner in which he led his battalion in the charge at Fort Blakeley, Alabama, April 9, 1865, during which he was seriously wounded, for his zeal as an officer, and for having a splendid and efficient battalion."

Colonel, April 13, 1865—In command of 69th Regiment May, 1863 to July, 1865—Brigadier general and quartermaster general, Indiana National Guard, 1902-1905—Adjutant general 1905-1910—Superintendent Soldiers' and Sailors' Monument 1918-1927 [still in charge 1928].

Service—Army of the Potomac, Army of the Tennessee and Army of the Gulf.

Association—Post commander Grand Army of the Republic, commander Military Order of the Loyal Legion of the U. S. and member Association of the Army of the Tennessee.

Colonel Perry resides in Indianapolis.

The 69th Infantry, left its dead in eleven states, and participated in the Battle of Richmond, Kentucky; Chickasaw Bluffs, Arkansas Post, Thompson's Hill, Champion Hill, Black River Bridge, the sieges of Vicksburg and Jackson, and the capture of Blakeley, Alabama, which caused the surrender of Mobile.<sup>1</sup>

Colonel Perry was ninety years of age on February 1, 1928, and is in full physical and mental vigor. He attributes his longevity to a good constitution, moderate diet, avoidance of worry, and a busy life.

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<sup>1</sup> *House Journal*, 1927, pp. 540-42.

